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THE
WORKS
OF
SOAME JENYNS, Esq.

VOL. II.

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THE

W O R L D

OF

BOATMEN

VOLUME

THE
WORKS
OF
SOAME JENYNS, Esq.
IN FOUR VOLUMES.

INCLUDING SEVERAL PIECES
NEVER BEFORE PUBLISHED.

TO WHICH ARE PREFIXED,
SHORT SKETCHES OF THE HISTORY OF
THE AUTHOR'S FAMILY,
AND ALSO OF HIS LIFE;

By CHARLES NALSON COLE, Esq.

V O L. II.

L O N D O N:

PRINTED FOR T. CADELL, IN THE STRAND.

M.DCC.XC.



VOL. II.

LONDON:

PRINTED BY W. CLARKE, IN THE STRAND.

MDCCC.

ON THE
IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL.

TRANSLATED FROM THE LATIN OF

ISAAC HAWKINS BROWNE, Esq.

Vol. II.

B

D E

ANIMI IMMORTALITATE.

LIBER PRIMUS.

CÆTERA per terras animalia forte fruuntur
 Quam sua cuique dedit Natura; nec amplius
 optant.

Solus homo, qui scire sagax, cui summa cupido

Scrutari causas et mutua fœdera rerum,

Vanum iter ingreditur; nigris namque imminet alis, 5

Et

* Isaac Hawkins Browne, Esq. the son of the Rev. Mr. Browne, vicar of Burton on Trent, was educated at Westminster school, from whence he went to Trinity College, Cambridge, and afterwards settled in Lincoln's-Inn, where he engaged in the profession of the law. In 1759 he published this Poem, *De Animi Immortalitate*, which was universally read, and as universally admired, not only for the choice and arrangement of the matter, but the purity of the language, which Lucretius himself would have acknowledged as a perfect copy of his style. Struck with the arguments, the disposition of those arguments, and the beauty of the expression, but above all with the bright contrast to the obscurity of the metaphysical poets of the last century; Mr.

Jenyns

ON THE
IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL,

TRANSLATED FROM THE LATIN OF
ISAAC HAWKINS BROWNE, Esq. *

BOOK I.

TO all inferior animals 'tis giv'n
T' enjoy the state allotted them by Heav'n;
No vain researches e'er disturb their rest,
No fears of dark futurity molest.
Man, only man, solicitous to know
The springs whence Nature's operations flow,
Plods thro' a dreary waste with toil and pain,
And reasons, hopes, and thinks, and lives in vain;

5

For

Jenyns was the first who translated it into English, and whose translation, as it was first in time, was also first in propriety and elegance amongst those with which the public was afterwards favoured.

Mr. Browne's happy vein in poetry placed him amongst

Et cursu in medio mors intercludit euntem.
 Quorsum isthoc, si nil sapientia dia creârit
 Incassum? Quorsum hæc divinæ semina mentis,
 In proprios si non poterunt adolescere fructus?
 Ecquid enim prodest rerum cognoscere causas; 10
 Jungere venturis præsentia; mente vagari
 Solem atque astra super, morituro? Scilicet omnes
 Una manet Lethi lex et commune sepulcrum.
 Nonne ergo satius cum Phyllide ludere in umbra;
 Teque, Lyæ pater, lætis celebrare choreis? 15
 Novit enim Bacchus curas depellere, novit
 Præteriti sensus abolere metumque futuri.

Quare age, vina liques: epulæ, convivia, lusus,
 Pfallere docta Chloe, citharæque perita Neæra,
 Non absint; volucris rape lætus dona diei; 20
 Quærere nec cures quid crastina proferat hora.

the¹ foremost of the art in his life-time, the justice of which
 preference posterity will be enabled to determine, from a
 collection of his poems published in octavo, by his only son
 Isaac Hawkins Browne, Esq;—a mark of filial piety,
 one of the prominent features in his most respectable and
 amiable character. E.

Atqui

For fable Death still hov'ring o'er his head,
Cuts short his progress, with his vital thread. 10

Wherefore, since Nature errs not, do we find
These seeds of Science in the human mind,
If no congenial fruits are predestin'd? }

For what avails to man this power to roam
Thro' ages past, and ages yet to come, 15

T' explore new worlds o'er all th' ætherial way
Chain'd to a spot, and living but a day?

Since all must perish in one common grave,
Nor can these long laborious searches save,
Were it not wiser far, supinely laid, 20

To sport with Phillis in the noontide shade?

Or at thy jovial festivals appear,
Great Bacchus, who alone the soul can clear,
From all that it has felt, and all that it can fear? }

Come on then, let us feast: let Chloe sing, 25

And soft Næra touch the trembling string;

Enjoy the present hour, nor seek to know

What good or ill to-morrow may bestow.

Atqui pertæsum est harum citò deliciarum ;
 Scilicet, hæc fatiat vix dum libata voluptas.
 Ergo dimissis quæramus seria nugis.
 Accumulentur opes ; ducit quò gloria, quòve 25
 Ambitio, stipatus eas examine denso
 Manè salutantum. Quid multa ? Huc denique eòdem
 Volveris, ut clames heu ! quantum in rebus inane !

Quænam igitur tentanda via est ? Ubi littus amicum ?
 Nempe vides ut semper avet, dum corpore clausa est, 30
 Mens alia ex aliis scire, ac sine fine gradatim
 Æternum (sic fert natura) attingere verum.

Gaudia quinetiam non hæc fugientia poscit,
 At magis apta sibi, vicibusque obnoxia nullis ;
 Gaudia perpetuum non interitura per ævum. 35

But these delights soon pall upon the taste ;
 Let's try then if more serious cannot last : 30
 Wealth let us heap on wealth, or fame pursue,
 Let pow'r and glory be our points in view ;
 In courts, in camps, in senates let us live,
 Our levees crowded like the buzzing hive :
 Each weak attempt the same sad lesson brings ! 35
 Alas what vanity in human things !

What means then shall we try ? where hope to find
 A friendly harbour for the restless mind ?
 Who still, you see, impatient to obtain
 Knowledge immense, (so Nature's laws ordain) 40
 Ev'n now, tho' fetter'd in corporeal clay,
 Climbs step by step the prospect to survey,
 And seeks, unwearied, Truth's eternal ray. }

No fleeting joys she asks, which must depend
 On the frail senses, and with them must end ; 45
 But such as suit her own immortal fame,
 Free from all change eternally the same.

Quare fume animum ; neque enim sapientia dia
 Frustra operam impendit ; neque mens arctabitur istis
 Limitibus quibus hoc periturum corpus ; at exfors
 Terrenæ labis viget, æternùmque vigebit :
 Atque ubi corporeis emissâ, ut carcere, vinclis, 40
 Libera cognatum repetet, vetus incola, cœlum,
 Nectareos latices veri de fonte perenni
 Hauriet, ætheriumque perennis carpet amomum.

At verò dum vita manet (si vita vocanda est
 Corporis hæc cæco conclusa putamine) torpet 45
 Vivida vis animi, nec ovantes explicat alas.
 Multa tamen veteris retinet vestigia stirpis.
 Unde etenim tot res reminiscitur ? Unde tot apto
 Ordine disponit, mox et depromit in usus ?
 Quippe haud tam locuples hæc, tamque immensa supellex
 Corporis in cellis poterit stipata teneri ; 51
 Aut vi corporea revocari in luminis oras.

Illa etiam inventrix, varias quæ protulit artes,
 Suppeditans vitæ decus et tutamen egenæ ;

Nomina

Take courage then, these joys we shall attain;
 Almighty wisdom never acts in vain;
 Nor shall the soul on which it has bestow'd 50
 Such pow'rs e'er perish like an earthly clod;
 But purg'd at length from foul corruption's stain,
 Freed from her prison and unbound her chain,
 She shall her native strength, and native skies regain: }
 To heav'n an old inhabitant return, 55
 And draw nectareous streams from truth's perpetual urn.

Whilst life remains, (if life it can be call'd
 T' exist in fleshly bondage thus enthrall'd)
 Tir'd with the dull pursuit of worldly things,
 The soul scarce wakes, or opes her gladsome wings, 60
 Yet still the godlike exile in disgrace
 Retains some marks of her celestial race;
 Else whence from mem'ry's store can she produce
 Such various thoughts, or range them so for use?
 Can matter these contain, dispose, apply? 65
 Can in her cells such mighty treasures lie?
 Or can her native force produce them to the eye? }

Whence is this pow'r, this foundress of all arts,
 Serving, adorning life, thro' all its parts,
 Which

Nomina quæ imposuit rebus, vocemque ligavit 55
 Literulis; aut quæ degentes more ferarum,
 Dispersosque homines deduxit in oppida; quæve
 Legibus edomuit, fœdusque coegit in unum;
 Quænam isthæc nisi vis divinior, ætheriusque
 Sensus, et afflatu cœlesti concita virtus? 60

Jam quorum undanti eloquium fluit amne, rapitque
 Quò velit affectus, tonitruque et fulgura miscet;
 Divitias trahit unde suas? Vigor igneus ille
 Num mortale sonat? Quid censes carmina vatum?
 Sive etenim flexu numerorum vique canora, 65
 Oblectet varia dulcedine lapsus ad aures;
 Seu, speciosa canens rerum miracula, fictis
 Ludat imaginibus, peragretque per intima cordis;
 Nil parvum spirat, nil non sublime Poëta.
 Cumque super terris quæ fiunt, quæque tuemur 70
 Omnia, curriculo volventia semper eodem,
 Non explent animum, varia et magis ampla petentem;
 * Sanctus adest vates, per quem sublimior ordo,

Exoritur,

* Si quis rem acutius introspeciat, firmum ex POËSI su-
 mitur argumentum, magnitudinem rerum magis illustrem,
 ordinem magis perfectum, et varietatem magis pulchram
 animæ humanæ complacere, quam in natura ipsa, post
 lapsum

Which names impos'd, by letters mark'd those names,
 Adjusted properly by legal claims, 71
 From woods and wilds collected rude mankind,
 And cities, laws, and governments design'd?
 What can this be, but some bright ray from heav'n,
 Some emanation from Omniscience giv'n? 75

When now the rapid stream of eloquence
 Bears all before it, passion, reason, sense,
 Can its dread thunder, or its lightning's force
 Derive their essence from a mortal source?
 What think you of the bard's enchanting art,
 Which, whether he attempts to warm the heart
 With fabled scenes, or charm the ear with rhyme,
 Breathes all pathetic, lovely, and sublime?
 Whilst things on earth roll round from age to age,
 The same dull farce repeated on the stage; 85
 The poet gives us a creation new,
 More pleasing and more perfect than the true;

lapsum reperire ullo modo possit. Quapropter, cum res
 gestæ, et eventus, qui veræ historiæ subjiciuntur, non sint
 ejus amplitudinis, in qua anima humana sibi satisfaciat,
 Præsto est POESIS quæ facta magis Heroica confingat.—
 Bacon de Augmentis Scientiarum, Lib. II. E.

The

Pulcrior et species, et mentis idonea votis
Exoritur, vitæ spēs auguriumque futuræ.

75

Quid, qui cœlestes nôrunt describere motus ;
Sidera, qua circa solem, qua lege cometæ
Immensum per inane rotentur, ut æthere vasto
Astra alia illustrent alios immota planetas ;
Nonne hanc credideris mentem, quæ nunc quoq; cœlum
Astraque pervolitat, delapsam cœlitus, illuc
Unde abiit remeare, suasque revisere sedes ?

81

Quî tandem hæc fierent nisi quædam in mente subesset
Vis sua, materiæ mixtura immunis ab omni ?
Conscia porrò sibi est, vult, nonvult, odit, amatque,
Et timet, et sperat ; gaudet, mœretque sua vi
Ipsa ; ministerio neque corporis indiget ullo :
Viribus ipsa suis inter se comparat, et res
Sejungit rebus ; vaga dissociataque veri
Membra minutatim legit, ac concinnat amicè.

99

Elicit

The mind, who always to perfection hastes,
 Perfection, such as here she never tastes,
 With gratitude accepts the kind deceit, 90
 And thence foresees a system more compleat.

Of those what think you, who the circling race
 Of suns, and their revolving planets trace,
 And comets journeying thro' unbounded space? }
 Say, can you doubt, but that th' all-searching soul, 95
 That now can traverse heav'n from pole to pole,
 From thence descending visits but this earth,
 And shall once more regain the regions of her birth?

Cou'd she thus act, unless some power unknown,
 From matter quite distinct and all her own, 100
 Supported and impell'd her? She approves
 Self-conscious, and condemns; she hates, and loves,
 Mourns, and rejoices, hopes, and is afraid,
 Without the body's unrequested aid:
 Her own internal strength her reason guides, 105
 By this she now compares things, now divides,
 Truth's scatter'd fragments piece by piece collects,
 Rejoins, and thence her edifice erects;

Piles

Elicit hinc rerum causas, atque artibus artes
 Hinc alias aliis super extruit ordine pulcro;
 Et magis atque magis summa ad fastigia tendit
 Unde omnis series causarum apparet, et omnis
 Numinis à folio ad terram demissa catena. 95
 Denique et in sese descendit, et aspicit intus
 Rerum ideas, quo quæque modo nascantur; et unde
 Cogitet, ac prope jam sua quæ sit fabrica novit.
 Tantane corporea est virtus? An machina vires
 Percipit ulla suas, aut quid sibi præbeat escam? 100
 Omne etenim corpus nihil est nisi machina, motu
 Impulsa externo, non interiore suoque,

Vulgi igitur studiis noli altæ mentis acumen
 Metiri; ast illos, etiam nunc laude recentes,
 Contemplare viros tellus quos Attica, vel quos 105
 Roma, nec alterutri cedens tulit Anglia, nutrix
 Heroum, dum tempus erat, melioribus annis.

Quid

Piles arts on arts, effects to causes ties,
 And rears th' aspiring fabric to the skies : 110
 From whence, as on a distant plain below,
 She sees from causes consequences flow,
 And the whole chain distinctly comprehends,
 Which from the Almighty's throne to earth descends :
 And lastly, turning inwardly her eyes, 115
 Perceives how all her own ideas rise,
 Contemplates what she is, and whence she came,
 And almost comprehends her own amazing frame.
 Can mere machines be with such pow'rs endu'd,
 Or conscious of those pow'rs suppose they cou'd? 120
 For body is but a machine alone
 Mov'd by external force, and impulse not its own.

Rate not th' extension of the human mind
 By the plebeian standard of mankind,
 But by the size of those gigantic few, 125
 Whom Greece and Rome still offer to our view ;
 Or Britain, well-deserving equal praise,
 Parent of heroes too in better days.

Why

Quid tibi tot memorem divino pectore vates,
 Totve repertoires legum, fandive potentes?
 Quid, per quos venit spectanda scientia; dudum 110
 Informi cooperta situ, lucemque perosa?
 Ante alios verò Baconus, ut ætherius sol,
 Effulgens, artes aditum patefecit ad omnes.
 Hic à figmentis sophiam revocavit ineptis
 Primus; quàque regit fida experientia gressus, 115
 Securum per iter, Newtono scilicet idem
 Designatque viam, et præcurfor lampada tradit.

Illustres animæ! Si quid mortalia tangunt
 Coelicolas, si gentis adhuc cura ulla Britannæ;
 Vos precor, antiquum vos instauratione vigorem; 120
 Ut tandem excusso nitamur ad ardua somno,
 Virtutis veræ memores, et laudis avitæ.

Nempe horum egregias reor haud sine numine dotes

Why shou'd I try her num'rous sons to name
 By verse, law, eloquence, consign'd to fame? 130
 Or who have forc'd fair Science into fight
 Long lost in darkness, and afraid of light.
 O'er all superior, like the solar ray,
 First Bacon usher'd in the dawning day,
 And drove the mists of sophistry away; 135
 Pervaded nature with amazing force,
 Following experience still throughout his course,
 And finishing at length his destin'd way,
 To Newton he bequeath'd the radiant lamp of day.

Illustrious souls! if any tender cares 140
 Affect angelic breasts for man's affairs,
 If in your present happy heav'nly state,
 You're not regardless quite of Britain's fate,
 Let this degenerate land again be blest
 With that true vigour which she once possess; 145
 Compel us to unfold our slumb'ring eyes,
 And to our ancient dignity to rise.

Such wond'rous pow'rs as these must sure be giv'n
 For most important purposes by Heav'n;

Enasci potuisse ; Deum quin tempore in omni
 Conspersisse, velut stellas, hinc inde locorum 125
 Splendidiora animi quasi quædam lumina ; ut istis
 Accensa exemplis se degener efferat ætas,
 Agnoscatque suû quàm sit sublimis origo.

Præterea esse aliquid verè quod pertinet ad nos,
 Morte obita, nemo secum non concipit ; intus, 130
 Monstratum est intus ; testatur docta vetustas ;
 Publica vox clamat ; neque gens tam barbara quæ non
 Prospiciat trans funus, et ulteriora requirat.

Hinc feritur, tardè crescens, et posthuma merces,
 Quercus, natorum natis quæ profit : et ingens 135
 Pyramidum moles flat inexpugnabilis annis.

Hinc cura illa omnis vivendi extendere metas,
 Nomine victuro ; tanti est hinc fama superstes,
 Ingenio ut quisquis præcellit, nulla recuset
 Ille subire pericla, nec ullos ferre labores, 140
 Si modo venturi speciem sibi vendicet ævi,
 Gloriaque ad feros veniat mansura nepotes.

Who bids these stars as bright examples shine, 150
 Besprinkled thinly by the hand divine,
 To form to virtue each degenerate time,
 And point out to the soul its origin sublime.

That there's a self which after death shall live,
 All are concern'd about, and all believe ; 155
 That something's ours, when we from life depart,
 This all conceive, all feel it at the heart ;
 The wise of learn'd antiquity proclaim
 This truth, the public voice declares the same ;
 No land so rude but looks beyond the tomb 160
 For future prospects in a world to come.

Hence, without hopes to be in life repaid,
 We plant slow oaks posterity to shade ;
 And hence vast pyramids, aspiring high,
 Lift their proud heads aloft, and time defy. 165

Hence is our love of fame, a love so strong,
 We think no dangers great, or labours long,
 By which we hope our beings to extend,
 And to remotest times in glory to descend.

Nonne videmus uti convictus criminis, ipso
 Limine sub mortis, culpam tamen abneget omnem;
 Mendax, ut sibi constet honos atque integra fama? 145
 Nempe animis hæc insevit natura futuri
 Indicia obscurasque notas; hinc sollicita est mens,
 De se posteritas quid sentiat; at nihil ad nos
 Postera vox, erimus si nil nisi pulvis et umbra;
 Sera venit, cineres nec tangit fama quietos. 150

Quid porrò exequiæ voluere? Quid anxia cura
 Defunctis super, et moles operosa sepulcri?
 Pars etenim terræ mandant exsangue cadaver,
 Et tumulo ferta imponunt, et sacra quotannis
 Persolvunt; tanquam poscant ea munera manes: 155
 Ex illa pars ritè pyra, cremat insuper artus,
 Colligit et cineres, fidaque reponit in urna;

Ut

For fame the wretch beneath the gallows lies, 170
 Disowning ev'ry crime for which he dies ;
 Of life profuse, tenacious of a name,
 Fearless of death, and yet afraid of shame.
 Nature has wove into the human mind
 This anxious care for names we leave behind, 175
 T' extend our narrow views beyond the tomb,
 And give an earnest of a life to come :
 For if when dead we are but dust or clay,
 Why think of what posterity shall say ?
 Her praise or censure cannot us concern, 180
 Nor ever penetrate the silent urn.

What mean the nodding plumes, the fun'ral train,
 And marble monument that speaks in vain,
 With all those cares which ev'ry nation pays
 To their unfeeling dead in different ways ? 185
 Some in the flower-strewn grave the corpse have laid,
 And annual obsequies around it paid, }
 As if to please the poor departed shade ;
 Others on blazing piles the body burn,
 And store their ashes in the faithful urn ; 190

Ut sic relliquiæ durando sæcula vincant.

Quid memorem fluctu quos divite Nilus inundans
 Irrigat? His patrius mos non exurere flamma, 160
 Non inhumare solo; sed nudant corpora primùm
 Visceribus, terguntque; dehinc vim thuris odoram
 Et picis infundunt, lentoque bitumine complent:
 His demùm exactis, vittarum tegmine multo
 Constringunt, pars ut sibi quæque cohæreat aptè; 165
 Picta superficiem decorat viventis imago.
 Usque adeò ingenita est spes, et fiducia cuique
 Consignata, fore ut membris jam morte solutis
 Restet adhuc nostri melior pars; quam. neque fati
 Vis perimet, nec edax poterit delere vetustas. 170

Aspice quas Ganges interluit Indicus oras:
 Illic gens hominum medios se mittit in ignes,
 Impatiens vitæ; vel ad ipsa altaria divùm
 Sponte animam reddit, percussa cupidine cæca
 Migrandi, sedes ubi fata dedêre quietas; 175
 Ver ubi perpetuum, et soles sine nube sereni.

Nec

But all in one great principle agree,
To give a fancy'd immortality.

Why shou'd I mention those, whose ouzy soil
Is render'd fertile by th' o'erflowing Nile,
Their dead they bury not, nor burn with fires, 195
No graves they dig, erect no fun'ral pyres;
But, washing first th' embowel'd body clean,
Gums, spice, and melted pitch they pour within;
Then with strong fillets bind it round and round,
To make each flaccid part compact and found; 200
And lastly paint the varnish'd surface o'er
With the same features which in life it wore:
So strong their presage of a future state,
And that our nobler part survives the body's fate.

Nations behold, remote from reason's beams, 205
Where Indian Ganges rolls his sandy streams,
Of life impatient rush into the fire,
And willing victims to their gods expire!
Persuaded the loos'd soul to regions flies,
Blest with eternal spring and cloudless skies. 210

Nec minùs uxores famâ celebrantur Eoæ :
 Non illæ lacrymis, non fœmineo ululatu
 Fata virûm plorant ; verùm, (mirabile dictu !)
 Conscenduntque rogum, flammaque vorantur eâdem.
 Nimirùm credunt veterum sic posse maritûm 181
 Ire ipsas comites, tædamque novare sub umbris.

Aspice quâ Boreas æternaque frigora spirant,
 Inviçtas bello gentes : par omnibus ardor ;
 Par lucis contemptus agit per tela, per ignes, 185
 Indomita virtute feros : hoc concitat æstrum,
 Hos versat stimulos, ecquid nisi dulcis imago
 Promissæ in patriam meritis per sæcula vitæ ?

Adde isthuc quæ de campis narrantur amœnis
 Elysii, Stygioque lacu, Phlegethontis et unda. 190

Fraude sacerdotum sint hæc conficta ; quid ad rem ?
 Non fraudi locus ullus enim nisi primitùs esset

Nor is less fam'd the oriental wife
 For steadfast virtue, and contempt of life:
 These heroines mourn not with loud female cries
 Their husbands lost, or with o'erflowing eyes;
 But, strange to tell! their funeral piles ascend, 215
 And in the same sad flames their sorrows end;
 In hopes with them beneath the shades to rove,
 And there renew their interrupted love.

In climes where Boreas breathes eternal cold,
 See num'rous nations, warlike, fierce, and bold, 220
 To battle all unanimously run,
 Nor fire, nor sword, nor instant death they shun:
 Whence this disdain of life in ev'ry breast,
 But from a notion on their minds impress, }
 That all who for their country die are blest? 225 }
 Add too to these the once-prevailing dreams,
 Of sweet Elysian groves, and Stygian streams:
 All shew with what consent mankind agree
 In the firm hope of immortality.

Grant these th' inventions of the crafty priest, 230
 Yet such inventions never cou'd subsist,

Unless

Infita notities, licet imperfecta, futuri :
Substratum agnoscunt etenim ficta omnia verum.

At quia difficile est mentem sine corpore quid sit 195
Per se concipere, et crasso sejungere sensu,
Corporeas illi tribuit plebecula formas ;
Dat similes vultus, dat membra simillima veris,
Et certis habitare locis dat corporis instar.
Unde alii, quibus hæc prava et delira videntur, 200
Nec constat quo more animus post fata supersit,
Extingui omnino communi funere censent.
Vel quia discendi nequeunt perferre laborem ;
Vel quia turpe putant quidvis nescire fateri.
Namque opus haud tenue est sincerum excernere ficto.
Discute segnitiem idcirco, neque respue verum, 206
Fabellas propter quas intersperfit iniquus
Sive dolus, seu vana fuât petulantia vatûm.

Quid, nonne esse Deum consensus comprobatur omnis,
Consensus, qui vox Naturæ ritè putatur ? 210
At quàm falsa homines, indignaque numine fingunt !

Quippe

Unless some glimm'rings of a future state
 Were with the mind coæval, and innate :
 For ev'ry fiction, which can long persuade,
 In truth must have its first foundations laid. 235

Because we are unable to conceive,
 How unembod'y'd souls can act, and live,
 The vulgar give them forms, and limbs, and faces,
 And habitations in peculiar places ;
 Hence reas'ners more refin'd, but not more wise, 240
 Struck with the glare of such absurdities,
 Their whole existence fabulous suspect,
 And truth and falsehood in a lump reject ;
 Too indolent to learn what may be known,
 Or else too proud that ignorance to own. 245
 For hard's the task the daubing to pervade
 Folly and fraud on Truth's fair form have laid ;
 Yet let that task be ours ; for great the prize :
 Nor let us Truth's celestial charms despise,
 Because that priests or poets may disguise. 250 }

That there's a God from Nature's voice is clear,
 And yet what errors to this truth adhere !

How

Quippe humana deo tribuunt, numerumque deorum
 Multiplicant, juxta ac spes erigit aut metus angit
 Instabiles animos; quid enim? quæ profore credunt
 Hæc divos sibi præsentés, at numina læva 215
 Quæ metuêre putant; valuitque infania tantùm,
 Bestiolas ut deformes pro numine, et ipsum
 Cæpe etiam et porrum, coleret lymphata vetustas.

Hæc igitur reputans sôphiæ dux Atticus ille
 Affore prædixit perfectô temporis orbe, 220
 * *Attulit et nobis aliquando optantibus ætas*
Auxilium adventumque Dei; qui, solis ut ortus,
 Discuteret tenebras animi, et per cæca viarum
 Duceret, ipse regens certo vestigia filo.

Interea multis licuit dignoscere signis 225
 Natura monstrante, velut per nubila, verum.
 Ergo age qua ducit nos conjectura sequamur,
 Nec spernamus opem si quam Ratio ipsa ministrat.

* Virg. Æn. viii. 200.

How have the fears and follies of mankind
 Now multiply'd their gods, and now subjoin'd
 To each the frailties of the human mind !
 Nay, superstition spread at length so wide,
 Beasts, birds, and onions too were deify'd.

}
 255

Th' Athenian sage, revolving in his mind
 This weakness, blindness, madness of mankind
 Foretold, that in maturer days, tho' late,
 When time should ripen the decrees of fate,
 Some God would light us, like the rising day,
 Thro' error's maze, and chase these clouds away.
 Long since has time fulfill'd this great decree,
 And brought us aid from this Divinity.

260

265

Well worth our search discoveries may be made
 By Nature, void of this celestial aid :
 Let's try what her conjectures then can reach,
 Nor scorn plain Reason, when she deigns to teach.

That

Haud equidem inficior mentem cum corpore multis
 Consentire modis ; lex mutua fœderis illa est : 230
 Ast eadem in multis dispar se disparis esse
 Naturæ probat ac divina stirpe profectam.

Sæpe videmus uti solido stant robore vires
 Corporeæ, cum mens obtusior ; invalidoque
 Corpore inest virtus persæpe acerrima mentis. 235
 Quinetiam interitu si corporis intereat mens,
 Consimili pacto par est ægrotet ut ægro
 Corpore, quod fieri contrà quoque sæpe videmus.
 Namque ubi torpescunt artus jam morte propinqua
 Acrior est acies tum mentis, et entheus ardor ; 240
 Tempore non alio facundia suavior, atque
 Fatidicæ jam tum voces morientis ab ore.

Corporeis porrò si constat mens elementis,
 Quî fit ut in somnis, cum clausa foramina sensûs,
 Nec species externa manet quæ pabula menti 245
 Sufficiat, magis illa vigen, tum denique veras
 Expromat vires, tum se plaudentibus alis

Tollat,

That mind and body often sympathize 270
 Is plain; such is this union nature ties :
 But then as often too they disagree,
 Which proves the soul's superior progeny.
 Sometimes the body in full strength we find,
 Whilst various ails debilitate the mind ; 275
 At others, whilst the mind its force retains,
 The body sinks with sickness and with pains :
 Now did one common fate their beings end,
 Alike they'd sicken, and alike they'd mend.
 But sure experience, on the slightest view, 280
 Shews us, that the reverse of this is true ;
 For when the body oft expiring lies,
 Its limbs quite senseless, and half clos'd its eyes,
 The mind new force and eloquence acquires,
 And with prophetic voice the dying lips inspires. 285

Of like materials were they both compos'd,
 How comes it, that the mind, when sleep has clos'd
 Each avenue of sense, expatiates wide
 Her liberty restor'd, her bonds unty'd ?

And

Tollat, avi similis, cavea quæ fortè reclusa
Fertur ad alta volans, cœloque exultat aperto.

Jam si corporea est animi natura, necesse est 250
Partibus hæc eadem conflata sit infinitis ;
Ergo et sensus erit cuique, et sua cuique libido
Particulæ, totidemque animi in diversa trahentes.
Has inter turbas atque in certamine tanto
Dic, quo more queat verum consistere et æquum ; 255
Et vitæ tenor unus, et hæc sibi conscia virtus.

Materiæ sed fortè situ certaue figura
Vis animi confit ; — tanquam quadrata rotundis
Plus saperent ; — partes seu demis an addis, eòdem
Res redit, ac quali fuerint corpuscula forma, — 260
Tantundem ad mentem est, color ac fiet albus an ater.

At quodam ex motu fit vis quæ cogitat omnis :
Quid non conficiat motus ? Nempe ipsa voluntas,
Discursus, ratio, rerumque scientia constant

Vectibus

And like some bird who from its prison flies, 290
Claps her exulting wings, and mounts the skies.

Grant that corporeal is the human mind,
It must have parts *in infinitum* join'd ;
And each of these must will, perceive, design,
And draw confus'dly in a different line ; 295
Which then can claim dominion o'er the rest,
Or stamp the ruling passion in the breast ?

Perhaps the mind is form'd by various arts
Of modelling and figuring these parts ;
Just as if circles wiser were than squares ; 300
But surely common sense aloud declares
That site and figure are as foreign quite
From mental pow'rs, as colours black or white.

Allow that motion is the cause of thought,
With what strange pow'rs must motion then be
fraught ? 305
Reason, sense, science, must derive their source
From the wheel's rapid whirl, or pulley's force :

Vectibus ac trochleis ; pueri, credo, actus habena 265
 Concipit ingenium, sapit et sub verbere turbo :
 Nec non lege pari, liquor ut calefactus aheno est,
 Eloquii tumet atque exundat divite vena.
 Unde autem exoritur motus ? Mens scilicet una,
 Mens, non corpus iners fons est et origo movendi : 270
 Utque Deus mundum, sic molem corporis omnem,
 Arbitrio nutuque suo, mens dirigit intus.

Desine quapropter mirari quomodo possit
 Vivere mens omni detracto corpore, miror
 Hoc potiùs qua vi poterit labefacta perire : 275
 Utpote quæ nullis consistat partibus, ac non
 Divelli queat externo violabilis ictu :
 Tum porrò ipsa suâ motrix est, non aliundè
 Instincta ; at quodcunque sua virtute movet se,
 Vivet in æternum, quia se non deferet unquam. 280

Verùm haud conceptu facile est existere quidvis
 Possè quidem, formam si dēpseris et posituram.
 Quidnam igitur censes de Numine ? Nam neque for-
 mam

Mens

Tops whip'd by school-boys fages must commence,
 Their hoops, like them, be cudgel'd into sense,
 And boiling pots o'erflow with eloquence. } 310

Whence can this very motion take its birth?
 Not sure from matter, from dull clods of earth;
 But from a living spirit lodg'd within,
 Which governs all the bodily machine:
 Just as th' Almighty Universal Soul } 315
 Informs, directs, and animates the whole.

Cease then to wonder how th' immortal mind
 Can live, when from the body quite disjoin'd;
 But rather wonder if she e'er cou'd die,
 So fram'd, so fashion'd for eternity; } 320
 Self-mov'd, not form'd of parts together ty'd,
 Which time can dissipate, and force divide;
 For beings of this make can never die,
 Whose pow'rs within themselves, and their own
 essence lie:

If to conceive how any thing can be } 325
 From shape extracted and locality
 Is hard; what think you of the Deity; }

Mens (quà scire licet) recipit divina, nec ullo
 Circumscripta loco est, nisi forte putaveris ipsum 285
 Materiam esse Deum ; sin vero Spiritus Idem,
 Integer et, purusque, et sæce remotus ab omni
 Corporis, humana pariter de mente putandum :
 Ecquid enim per se pollet magis, aut magis haustus
 Indicat ætherios, genus et divinitus ortum ? 290
 Atque adeo dum corporei stant fœdera nexûs,
 Exit sæpe foras tamen, effugioque parat se ;
 Ac veluti terrarum hospes, non incola, fursum
 Fertur, et ad patrios gestit remeare penates.

I nunc, usuram vitæ mirare caducam ; 295
 Sedulus huc illuc, ut musca, nitentibus alis
 Parvolita, rorem deliba, vescere et aura
 Paulisper, mox in nihilum rediturus et exspes.
 Hæccine vitæ summa est ? Sic irrita vota ?
 Huc promissa cadunt ? En quantò verius illa, 300
 Illa est vita hominis, dabitur cum cernere verum,

Non,

His Being not the least relation bears,
 As far as to the human mind appears,
 To shape, or size, similitude, or place, 330
 Cloath'd in no form, and bounded by no space.
 Such then is God, a spirit pure refin'd
 From all material dross, and such the human mind.
 For in what part of essence can we see
 More certain marks of immortality 335
 Ev'n from this dark confinement with delight
 She looks abroad, and prunes herself for flight;
 Like an unwilling inmate longs to roam
 From this dull earth, and seek her native home.

Go then forgetful of its toil and strife, 340
 Pursue the joys of this fallacious life;
 Like some poor fly, who lives but for a day
 Sip the fresh dews, and in the sunshine play, }
 And into nothing then dissolve away.
 Are these our great pursuits, is this to live? 345
 These all the hopes this much-lov'd world can give!
 How much more worthy envy is their fate,
 Who search for truth in a superior state?

Non, ut nunc facimus, sensim, longasque coacti
Ire per ambages meditando, at protinùs uno
Intuitu, nebulaque omni jam rebus adempta.

At ne scire quidem poterit mens, forte reponas, 305
Sensibus extinctis ; hoc fonte scientia manat ;
Hoc alitur crescitque ; hoc deficiente, peribit.

Quid verò infirmis cum sensibus, arte ministra,
Suppeditet vires sua quas Natura negavit ?
Arte oculis oculos mens addidit, auribus aures. 310

Hinc sese in vita supra sortemque situmque
Evehit humanum ; nunc cœlo devocat astra,
Intima nunc terræ referat penetralia victrix ;
Quæque oculos fugiunt, tenuissima corpora promit
In lucem, panditque novi miracula mundi. 315

Quid porro errores sensûs cum corrigit, et cum
Formamque et molem mens intervallaque rerum
Judice se, contra sensûs suffragia cernit ?

Nonne

Not groping step by step, as we pursue,
 And following reason's much entangled clue, 350 }
 But with one great, and instantaneous view.

But how can sense remain, perhaps you'll say,
 Corporeal organs if we take away ! }
 Since it from them proceeds, and with them must
 decay.

Why not ? or why may not the soul receive 355
 New organs, since ev'n art can these retrieve ?
 The silver trumpet aids th' obstructed ear,
 And optic glasses the dim eye can clear ;
 These in mankind new faculties create,
 And lift him far above his native state ; 360
 Call down revolving planets from the sky,
 Earth's secret treasures open to his eye,
 The whole minute creation make his own,
 With all the wonders of a world unknown.

How cou'd the mind, did she alone depend 365
 On sense, the errors of those senses mend ?

Nonne hæc sejunctam sensu vim signa fatentur,
 Semen et ætherium ? Quare hac compage soluta, 320
 Credibile est animum, qui nunc præhudia tentat,
 Excursusque breves, tum demùm posse volatu
 Liberiore frui, verumque excurrere in omne.

Si quæras quî fiat, adhuc neque noscere fas est,
 Nec refert nostra ; scisne istam matris in alvo 325
 Vitam qualis erat ? Num nôrit amœna colorum
 A partu cæcus ? Verùm inquis hic quoque sentit
 Esse aliis, sibi quod nato ad meliora negatur.

Mens itidem nihil hîc terrarum quicquid ubique est
 Par votis videt esse suis ; quin omnia fordent 330

Yet oft, we see, those senses she corrects,
 And oft their information quite rejects.
 In distances of things, their shapes, and size,
 Our reason judges better than our eyes. 370
 Declares not this the soul's pre-eminence
 Superior to, and quite distinct from sense ?
 For sure 'tis likely, that, since now so high,
 Clog'd and unfledg'd she dares her wings to try,
 Loos'd and mature she shall her strength display, 375
 And soar at length to Truth's refulgent ray.

Inquire you how these pow'rs we shall attain,
 'Tis not for us to know ; our search is vain :
 Can any now remember or relate
 How he existed in the embryo state ? 380
 Or one from birth insensible of day
 Conceive ideas of the solar ray ?
 That light's deny'd to him, which others see,
 He knows, perhaps you'll say,—and so do we.

The mind contemplative finds nothing here 385
 On earth that's worthy of a wish or fear :
 He,

Præ forma æterni, servat quam pectore, Pulcri,
 Ingenii cui sit vigor, et sublimia cordi.
 Hoc ergo exoptat solum sibi, totus in hoc est :
 Absens, absentis tabescit amore perenni ;
 Congressusque hominum vitans, ut verus amator, 335
 Et nemora, et fontes petit, et secreta locorum ;
 Solus ubi secum possit meditarier, atque
 Nunc Sophia, ingentes nunc carmine fallere curas.

Quocirca ille mihi felix vixisse videtur,
 Qui postquam aspexit mundi solenne theatrum 340
 Æquo animo, hunc solem, et terras, mare, nubila, et
 ignem ;
 Protinus unde abiit, fatur ut conviva, remigrat.
 Nempe hæc, seu centum vivendo conteris annos,
 Seu paucos numeras, eadem redeuntia cernes ;
 Et nihil his melius, nihil his sublimius unquam : 345
 Omne adeo in terris agitur quod tempus, habeto
 Ut commune forum ; peregre vel euntibus amplum
 Hospitium, temere fluitans ubi vita moratur,
 Mille inter nugas jactata, negotia mille.
 Qui prior abscedit, portum prior occupat ; Eja ! 350
 Totos pande sinus, ne fortè viatica defint.

He, whose sublime pursuit is God and truth,
 Burns, like some absent and impatient youth,
 To join the object of his warm desires,
 Thence to sequester'd shades, and streams retires, 390
 And there delights his passion to rehearse
 In Wisdoms sacred voice, or in harmonious verse.

To me most happy therefore he appears,
 Who having once, unmov'd by hopes or fears,
 Survey'd this sun, earth, ocean, clouds, and flame, 395
 Well-satisfy'd, returns from whence he came.

Is life an hundred years, or e'er so few,
 'Tis repetition all, and nothing new :
 A fair where thousands meet, but none can stay,
 An inn, where travellers bait, then post away ; 400

A sea where man perpetually is tost,
 Now plung'd in business, now in trifles lost :
 Who leave it first, the peaceful port first gain ;
 Hold then ! no farther launch into the main :
 Contract your sails ; life nothing can bestow 405

By long continuance, but continu'd woe :

The

Quid cessas ? subeunt morbique et acerba tuorum
Funera, et insidiis circùm undique septa senectus.

Quò feror ? Haud etenim injussu decedere fas est
Illius, hac vitæ qui nos statione locavit 355
Spemque metumque inter, ducis ut vexilla sequamur
Quicquid erit, Deus ipse jubet ferre ; ergò ferendum *.

Sin mihi persuasum fixumque in mente maneret
Nil superesse rogo, vellem migrare repentè
Hinc ; et abire omnes ubi, seriùs, ociùs, actò 360
Dramate, in æterna sopiti nocte quiescent.
Immo Deus mihi si dederit renovare juventam,
Utve iterum in cunis possim vagire ; recusem.

Non

* With what original sublimity of thought and language was this argument enforced by Mr. Mason, in his *Elfrida*, before this Poem was published ! Athelweld, on his marriage with *Elfrida* being discovered to King *Edgar*, in the agony of distress intimates the dreadful purpose of suicide, from which the Chorus dissuades him in the following most beautiful lines :

————— Forbear, forbear !

Think what a sea of deep perdition whelms
The wretch's trembling soul, who launches forth
Unlicens'd to Eternity. Think, think,

And

The wretched privilege daily to deplore
 The fun'erals of our friends, who go before :
 Diseases, pains, anxieties, and cares,
 And age surrounded with a thousand snares, 410

But whither hurry'd by a gen'rous scorn
 Of this vain world, ah whither am I borne ?
 Let's not unbid th' Almighty's standard quit,
 Howe'er severe our post, we must submit.

Cou'd I a firm persuasion once attain 415
 That after death no Being wou'd remain ;
 To those dark shades I'd willingly descend,
 Where all must sleep, this drama at an end :
 Nor life accept altho' renew'd by Fate
 Ev'n from its earliest, and its happiest state. 420

And let the thought restrain thy impious hand.
 The race of Man is one vast marshall'd army,
 Summon'd to pass the spacious realms of time ;
 Their leader the Almighty. In that march,
 Ah ! who may quit his post ? when high in air
 The chos'n Archangel rides, whose right hand wields
 Th' imperial standard of Heav'n's Providence,
 Which, deadly sweeping through the vaulted sky,
 O'er shadows all creation. E.

Might

Non si contingant vitam quæcunque beârint ;
 Ingenii vis, eloquium, prudentia, mores, 365
 Invidiâ sine partus honos, longo ordine nati,
 Clari omnes, patria pariter virtute, suâque ;
 Non tantâ mercede isthac, dignarer eandem
 Ire vîam toties, et eodem volvier orbe :
 Splendidiora quidem mens expetit ; illius altis 370
 Par votis nil est mutabile, nil periturum.



Might I from Fortune's bounteous hand receive
 Each boon, each blessing in her pow'r to give,
 Genius, and science, morals, and good sense,
 Unenvy'd honors, wit, and eloquence,
 A num'rous offspring to the world well known 425
 Both for paternal virtues, and their own :
 Ev'n at this mighty price I'd not be bound
 To tread the same dull circle round, and round ;
 The soul requires enjoyments more sublime,
 By space unbounded, undestroy'd by time. 430



LIBER SECUNDUS.

ERG O aliis Deus in rebus quascunque creavit
 Argumenta animi dedit haud obscura benigni;
 Omnibus, excipias modò nos, licet esse beatis.
 Nos, opus in terris princeps, nos mentis imago
 Divinæ, pœnis nos exercemur iniquis. 5
 Haud ita ;—longè absint isti de numine questus.

Attamen humanam mecum circumspice vitam ;
 Agnosces, quanta urgeat undique turba malorum,
 Non hunc, aut illum, fert ut Fortuna ; sed omne
 Pæne catervatim genus, ac discrimine nullo. 10
 Millia quot belli rabies, quot sæva tyrannis
 Corpora dat morti, duris oneratæ catenis ;
 Inque dies, varias cruciandi excogitat artes !
 Quid, quos dira fames, ad victum ubi cuncta supersunt,
 Absumit miseros, aut quos vis effera morbi 15
 Corripit, aut lento paulatim angore peredit

Infantes ?

B O O K II.

GOD then thro' all creation gives, we find,
 Sufficient marks of an indulgent mind,
 Excepting in ourselves; ourselves of all
 His works the chief on this terrestrial ball,
 His own bright image, who alone unblest 5
 Feel ills perpetual, happy all the rest.
 But hold, presumptuous! charge not Heav'n's decree
 With such injustice, such partiality.

Yet true it is, survey we life around,
 Whole hosts of ills on ev'ry side are found; 10
 Who wound not here and there by chance a foe,
 But at the species meditate the blow:
 What millions perish by each other's hands
 In War's fierce rage? or by the dread commands
 Of tyrants languish out their lives in chains, 15
 Or lose them in variety of pains?
 What numbers pinch'd by want and hunger die,
 In spite of Nature's liberality?

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E

(Those

Infantes ? neque enim dignabor dicere, vulgò
Quot Venus aut Vinum pessundedit ac sua culpa.

Quid proſit Virtus ? ſanctorum ubi præmia morum ?
Virtuti tribuo quantum licet ; ut male vitæ, 20
Quæ prohibere nequit, doceat lenire ferendo ;
Spe recreet meliore ; hominem ſibi concilietque ;
Irarum et tumidos et amorum temperet ætus :
Verùm adèò non tutela eſt, certuſque ſatelles
Contra omnes caſus, ſæpe ut (ſi dicere fas eſt) 25
Sæpe etiam et Virtus in aperta pericula mittat.
Expedit eſſe malis, dominum qui ferre ſuperbum
Coguntur : probitatem omnes odère tyranni.
Quàm multi bene promeriti de civibus, horum
Quos conſervârunt cæco periêre furore ! 30
Jam verò ingenio ſi quis valet, omnis in illum
Invida conjurat plebecula ; dente parati

(Those, still more num'rous, I to name disdain,
 By lewdness and intemperance justly slain;) 20
 What numbers guiltless of their own disease
 Are snatch'd by sudden death, or waste by slow de-
 grees?

Where then is Virtue's well deserv'd reward!—
 Let's pay to Virtue ev'ry due regard,
 That she enables man, let us confess, 25
 To bear those evils, which she can't redress,
 Gives hope, and conscious peace, and can assuage
 Th' impetuous tempests both of lust and rage;
 Yet she's a guard so far from being sure,
 That oft her friends peculiar ills endure: 30
 Where Vice prevails severest is their fate,
 Tyrants pursue them with a three-fold hate;
 How many struggling in their country's cause,
 And from their country meriting applause,
 Have fall'n by wretches fond to be enslav'd, 35
 And perish'd by the hands themselves had sav'd?
 Soon as superior worth appears in view,
 See knaves and fools united to pursue!

Rodere vipereo, famæque aspergere virus.

Fac porro ut meritis obstantem dissipet umbram ;

Muneraque emergens vix demùm publica tractet : 35

Sudandum ingrata est hominum pro gente, ferendum

Probrorum genus omne, adeunda pericula, vel quæ

Seditio attulerit vulgi, ambitiove potentûm.

Audiat hæc, sibi qui nomen, qui poscit honores ;

Demens ; nec novit se quanta incommoda cingant. 40

Vivitur an meliùs privatim ? Non minus isthic,

Cernis ut ira, libido, scelus dominantur ubique ;

Fraus et amicitiam simulans ; livorque malignus ;

Jurgiaque infidiæque, et iniquæ retia legis.

Attamen est, vitæ lenimen, amabilis uxor ;

45

Lætus agis secura domesticus otia ; dulces

Arrident circùm, properant et ad oscula nati ;

Mox obrepentis decus et tutela fenectæ.

Hic est aut nusquam quod quærimus ; esto, sed isthæc

Nullæne interea corrumpunt gaudia curæ ?

50

Quid

The man so form'd, they all conspire to blame,
 And Envy's pois'nous tooth attacks his fame ; 40
 Shou'd he at length, so truly good and great,
 Prevail, and rule with honest views the state,
 Then must he toil for an ungrateful race,
 Submit to clamor, libels, and disgrace,
 Threaten'd, oppos'd, defeated in his ends, 45
 By foes seditious, and aspiring friends.
 Hear this, and tremble ! all who wou'd be great,
 Yet know not what attends that dang'rous wretched state.

Is private life from all these evils free ?
 Vice of all kinds, rage, envy there we see, 50
 Deceit, that Friendship's mask insidious wears,
 Quarrels, and feuds, and laws entangling snares.

But there are pleasures still in human life,
 Domestic ease, a tender loving wife,
 Children, whose dawning smiles your heart engage, 55
 The grace and comfort of soft-stealing age :

If happiness exists, 'tis surely here,
 But are these joys exempt from care and fear ?

Quid mala commemorem, si quando, ut sæpius, ambos
 Discolor ingenium studia in contraria ducat ?
 Adde quod in trutina mores expendere iusta
 Haud facile, ante ineunt quam fœdus uterque jugale :
 Nec si pœniteat, fas est abrumpere vinclum ; 55
 Sors at dura manet ; conjecta est alea vitæ.

Præterea natos ecquis præstabit honesto
 Ingenio imbutos, pulcrique bonique tenaces ;
 Sin hac parte tuis respondent omnia votis ;
 Heu ! minimè cum reris, in ipso flore juventæ, 60
 Mors inopina domûs spem protinùs abripit omnem.

At non hæc Virtus mala parturit : immo fatemur,
 Munia si peragat sua quisque fideliter, esset
 Nil potius Virtute ; redirent aurea jam tum
 Sæcula ; verùm ævo non vivere contigit aureo 65

His animadversis, quidam primordia mundi
 Bina, Deos fingunt binos ; quorum alter iniquo
 Præditus ingenio, scelus omne immittit in orbem ;
 Alter opem præfens affert, medicina malorum.
 Hinc varius vitæ color, hinc pravique bonique 70
 Misti

Need I the miseries of that state declare,
 When diff'rent passions draw the wedded pair? 60
 Or say how hard those passions to discern,
 Ere the dye's cast, and 'tis too late to learn?

Who can insure, that what is right, and good,
 These children shall pursue? or if they shou'd,
 Death comes when least you fear so black a day, 65
 And all your blooming hopes are snatch'd away.

We say not, that these ills from Virtue flow;
 Did her wise precepts rule the world, we know
 The golden ages would again begin;
 But 'tis our lot in this to suffer, and to sin. 70

Observing this, some sages have decreed
 That all things from two causes must proceed;
 Two principles with equal pow'r endu'd,
 This wholly evil, that supremely good.
 From this arise the miseries we endure, 75
 Whilst that administers a friendly cure;
 Hence life is chequer'd still with bliss and woe,
 Hence tares with golden crops promiscuous grow,

Mistâ feges, roseisque latens malus anguis in hortis.
 Siccine res ergo est confecta? Sed illa potestas,
 Quæsierim, par sit, quam Dis adscribis, an impar:
 Si par illa quidem, ruerunt aut cuncta repente
 In Chaos antiquum, nihil aut potuisset oriri; 75
 Quippe bonum res est semper contraria pravo:
 Sin impar, mora nulla foret quin cederet alter
 Alterius vi debellatus, et omnia deinceps
 Deleret victor priscæ vestigia litis.
 Aufer abhinc igitur stulta hæc commenta Magorum, 80
 Et quæ cœnosus fert monstra biformia Nilus

Stoicus an meliùs? Nempe hic non esse bonorum
 In numero censet, nos quæ miramur ineptè:
 Divitias, famam, quodcunque accefferit extra,
 Pro nihilo sapiens habet; aut hæc possidet unus; 85
 Possidet, ignotus licet ac pauperrimus; Euge!
 Quàm pulcrum sapere est! simili ratione dolorem
 Haud putat esse malum, sibi consentaneus idem.
 Comburas igni; tradas ferrove secandum:
 In cruce suffigas; nunquam extorquebis, ut isthæc 90

And pois'nous serpents make their dead repose
Beneath the covert of the fragrant rose.

80

Can such a system satisfy the mind?
Are both these Gods in equal pow'r conjoin'd,
Or one superior? Equal if you say,
Chaos returns, since neither will obey;
Is one superior? good or ill must reign,
Eternal joy, or everlasting pain.

85

Which e'er is conquer'd must entirely yield,
And the victorious God enjoy the field:
Hence with these fictions of the *Magi's* brain!
Hence ouzy *Nile*, with all her monstrous train!

90

Or comes the Stoic nearer to the right?
He holds, that whatsoever yields delight,
Wealth, fame, externals all, are useless things;
Himself half starving happier far than kings.
'Tis fine indeed to be so wond'rous wise!
By the same reasoning too he pain denies;
Roast him, or flea him, break him on the wheel,
Retract he will not, tho' he can't but feel:

95

Pain's

Esse mala agnoscat : Quidnam ergo ? Incommoda dicit.
 Quid tibi visa valetudo ? Quid gratia formæ,
 Stoice ? Quid validæ vires ? Sunt hæc bona, necne ?
 Non optanda quidem sunt, at sumenda ; Sophistam
 Quis ferat hunc, verbis non re diversa docentem ? 95

Quid multa ? Externis sine rebus posse beatè
 Vivere te speres, si nil nisi spiritus esses :
 Interea quinam sis Stoice, nosse memento ;
 Natus homo es, qui mente itidemque ex corpore con-
 stat.

Sin verò, acciderint quæcunque extrinsecus, isthæc 100
 Dat Fortuna adimitque ; benigna, maligna vicissim
 Nunc mihi nunc alii ; neque sunt quæ nostra vocemus ;
 Quid sapiente illo fiet, qui non minus ac nos
 Memento dubiæ fluitat mutabilis horæ ?
 Vim porro hanc animi, pendent unde omnia quæ Tu
 Exoptanda putas, quàm sæpe retundere morbus, 106
 Sæpe solet delere, ut vix vestigia restent !

Pain's not an ill, he utters with a groan ;
 What then ? an inconvenience 'tis, he'll own : 100
 What vigour, health, and beauty ? are these good ?
 No : they may be accepted, not pursued :
 Absurd to squabble thus about a name,
 Quibbling with diff'rent words that mean the same.
 Stoic, were you not fram'd of flesh and blood, 105
 You might be blest without external good ;
 But know, be self-sufficient as you can,
 You are not spirit quite, but frail, and mortal man.

But since these sages, so absurdly wise,
 Vainly pretend enjoyments to despise, 110
 Because externals, and in Fortune's pow'r,
 Now mine, now thine, the blessings of an hour ;
 Why value then, t' strength of mind, they boast,
 As often varying, and as quickly lost ?
 A head-ach hurts it, or a rainy day, 115
 And a slow fever wipes it quite away.

Ille etiam qui consiliis, ille alter et armis
 Rem qui restituit, cum spes haud ulla, Britannam,
 Testantur quantum virtus, sapientia quantum 110
 Possit, et ingenii quam sit flos ipse caducum.

Tum porro ille recens, quem postera vidimus ætas,
 Scribendi omne tulit qui punctum, five facetas
 Mimi ageret partes, seu rhetoris atque poetæ ;
 Eheu ! Quantus erat ! Nec longum tempus, et idem 115
 Defuncta spirans jam mente, suique superstes :
 Usque adeo externis nihil inviolabile telis.

Condonanda tamen sententia, Stoice, vestra est :
 Nam si post obitum neque præmia sint neque pœnæ,
 Heu ! quò perventum est ! Heu quid jam denique re-
 stat ! 120

Scilicet humanas gerit aut res Numen iniquè,
 Aut nil curat, iners ; aut, si bene temperat orbem,
 Nemo bonus miser est, nemo improbus esse beatus
 In vita possit, gens ut sibi Stoica fingit.

See * one whose councils, one † whose conqu'ring
hand

Once fav'd Britannia's almost sinking land :
Examples of the mind's extensive pow'r,
Examples too how quickly fades that flow'r. 120

Him let me add, whom late we saw excel
‡ In each politer kind of writing well ;
Whether he strove our follies to expose
In easy verse, or droll, and hum'rous prose ;
Few years alas ! compel his throne to quit 125
This mighty monarch o'er the realms of wit,
See self-surviving he's an idiot grown !
A melancholy proof our parts are not our own.

Thy tenets, Stoic, yet we may forgive.
If in a future state we cease to live. 130
For here the virtuous suffer much, 'tis plain ;
If pain is evil, this must God arraign ;
And on this principle confess we must,
Pain can no evil be, or God must be unjust.

* Lord Somers.

† Duke of Marlborough.

‡ Dean Swift.

O cæcas hominum mentes ! confinia veri 125
 Qui simul attigerint, hærent ; finemque sub ipsum,
 Attonitis similes, opera imperfecta relinquunt.
 Justitiamne Dei te, Stoice, posse fateri,
 Cernere nec quid ritè velit ? Quin strenuus audes
 Pergere ad æternam, ducit quæ semita, vitam ? 130
 “ Quicquid id est, celat nox, circumfusa tenebris.”
 Non isthoc, tua te potius fiducia cæcat ;
 Hinc nox, hinc illæ tenebræ ; quia nempe triumphas,
 Nondum propositi victor ; quia ponere totum
 Nescius, in spatii medio consistis ; ut omnes 135
 Sive magi Persæ, seu Græcula turba Sophorum.
 En quantis unus portentis pullulat error !

Accipe rem quò nunc deducam. Quisque fatemur
 Esse Deum ; Jam si sapiens, justusque sit Author,
 Hunc Mundi ornatum qui protulit atque gubernat, 140
 Quodcunque est sit ritè ; canit prout ille poeta ;
 Nec patitur jus fasve, bonis ut sit male semper,
 Improbitas aut semper ovans incedat ; at isthuc

Blind man! whose reason such strait bounds confine,

135

That ere it touches truth's extremest line,

It stops amaz'd, and quits the great design.

Ow'n you not, Stoic, God is just and true?

Dare to proceed; secure this path pursue:

'Twill soon conduct you far beyond the tomb,

140

To future justice, and a life to come.

This path, you say, is hid in endless night,

'Tis self-conceit alone obstructs your sight:

You stop, ere half your destin'd course is run,

And triumph when the conquest is not won;

145

By this the Sophists were of old misled:

See what a monstrous race from one mistake is bred!

Hear then my argument:—confess we must,

A God there is, supremely wise and just:

If so, however things affect our sight,

150

As sings our bard, *whatever is, is right*.

But is it right, what here so oft appears,

That vice shou'd triumph, virtue sink in tears?

Res redit, omnino si morte extinguimur omnes.
 Quodcunque est fit ritè, velis si cernere summam; 145
 Contra, si nostri nihil ultra funera vivit.
 Vir bonus et sapiens vitam connectet utramque.
 At sunt, hærentes verborum in cortice nudo,
 Singula qui, non rerum ingens systema tuentur,
 Atque hodierna omnem cogunt in tempora scenam. 150
 Advolat huc furum turba omnis, et omnis adulter;
 Hanc sibi perfugio petit et sicarius aram.

Scilicet ipse ratio statuit Deus ordine leges,
 Quas temerare potest nemo; probus improbus an sit
 Quid refert? nihil hîc rescindere homuncio possit, 155
 Nil mutare; suum servant res usque tenorem.

Dic mihi quas leges narras, quive iste fit ordo?
 Altera namque homini est, animalibus altera brutis;
 Altera lex rerum massæ rationis egenti.

Est sua materiæ gravitas; hinc, non propria vi 160
 Attrahit, attrahitur; varios hinc incita motus
 Conficit, hinc stat compages et machina mundi.

Quid

The inference then, that closes this debate,
Is, that there must exist a future state. 155

The wise extending their enquiries wide
See how both states are by connection ty'd ;
Fools view but part, and not the whole survey,
So crowd existence all into a day.

Hence are they led to hope, but hope in vain, 160
That justice never will resume her reign ;
On this vain hope adulterers, thieves rely,
And to this altar vile assassins fly.

" But rules not God by general laws divine :
" Man's vice or virtue change not the design : " 165

What laws are these ? instruct us if you can : —
There's one design'd for brutes, and one for man :
Another guides inactive matter's course,
Attracting, and attracted by its force :

Hence mutual gravity subsists between 170
Far distant worlds, and ties the vast machine.

Quid dicam quibus est vitæ spirabile donum,
 Alituum genus an pecudes ; an sæva ferarum
 Semina ; fœcundo vel quæ foveat ubere pontus ? 165
 Non horum quivis temerè et sine lege vagatur ;
 Quin, five afflatu divinæ contigit auræ,
 Seu rationis habent quantum desiderat usus,
 His aliqua prodire tenus datur ; En sibi solers
 Quisque parat victum ; sua tractat gnaviter arma ; 170
 Atque edit fœtus, atque esca nutrit amica
 Quos peperit, prodest teneris dum cura parentum.
 Hic labor, hæc vitæ est omnis dulcedo ; nec ultra
 Aut cupit aut metuit, fatis hoc in munere felix.

Latior aſt homini campus patet ; Ille, ſagaci 175
 Ingenio, Artificis dignoſcit ſigna ſupremi,
 Immenſum per opus, tot miris fertile, mundum.
 Talibus indiſiis, rerum dominumque patremque
 Ille in vota vocat ; pulcrique imbutus amore
 Exemplar ſibi divinum proponit, ut inde 180
 Poſſit et ipſe ſuos imitando effingere mores.
 Pulcrius utque nihil, nihil ut divinius eſt quàm
 Proſpiciens aliis Bonitas, diſfuſaque latè ;

Ille

The laws of life, why need I call to mind,
 Obey'd by birds, and beasts of every kind?
 By all the sandy deserts savage brood,
 And all the num'rous offspring of the flood ; 175
 Of these none uncontroul'd, and lawless rove,
 But to some destin'd end spontaneous move :
 Led by that instinct, heav'n itself inspires,
 Or so much reason, as their state requires ;
 See all with skill acquire their daily food, 180
 All use those arms, which nature has bestow'd ;
 Produce their tender progeny, and feed
 With care parental, whilst that care they need ;
 In these lov'd offices compleatly blest,
 No hopes beyond them, nor vain fears molest. 185

Man o'er a wider field extends his views ;
 God thro' the wonders of his works pursues,
 Exploring thence his attributes, and laws,
 Adores, loves, imitates th' Eternal cause ;
 For sure in nothing we approach so nigh 190
 The great example of divinity,

Ille aliena, sibi putat haud aliena ; nec axem
 Vertitur usque suum circa, sibi providus uni ; 185
 At patriam, at genus omne hominum, genus omne ani-
 mantûm,
 Ingenti, se diffundens, complectitur orbe.

Hæc stabilivit item Natura perennia vitæ
 Jura, hominum per sese inopem cum finxit ; ut alter
 Alterius deponcat opem, et sua quisque vicissim 190
 Consilia in medium promat, sermone ministro.
 Confer cum reliquis etenim viventibus ; Ecquid
 Est hominis forma magis ad tutamen inerme ?
 Quanta sed huic virtus et inexpugnabile robur ;
 Si communis amor, gravitas velut, alligat uno 195
 Fœdere, consociatque inter se diffita membra ?

Lex igitur, lex hæc animis insculpta, benigno
 Hæc nutu sancita Dei est ; hanc comprobât ipsa
 Utilitas ; huc quemque trahit nativa voluptas.

Quorsum

As in benevolence : the patriot's soul
 Knows not self-center'd for itself to roll,
 But warms, enlightens, animates the whole :
 Its mighty orb embraces first his friends,
 His country next, then man ; nor here it ends
 But to the meanest animal descends.

195

Wise Nature has this social law confirm'd
 By forming man so helpless, and unarm'd ;
 His want of others' aid, and pow'r of speech
 T' implore that aid this lesson daily teach :
 Mankind with other animals compare,
 Single how weak, and impotent they are !
 But view them in their complicated state,
 Their pow'rs how wond'rous, and their strength how
 great,
 When social virtue individuals joins,
 And in one solid mass, like gravity combines !

200

205

This then's the first great law by Nature giv'n,
 Stamp'd on our souls, and ratify'd by Heav'n ;
 All from utility this law approve,
 As ev'ry private bliss must spring from social love.

210

Quorsum abeunt tamen iſta? Videſne effræna libido,
 Vel mala conſuetudo, vel ipſa inſcitia, quantas 201
 Dent latè ſtrages, hominum pars quantula felix!
 Contemplator enim, quà ſol oriturve, caditve;
 Aut loca quæ Boreas, aut quæ tenet ultimus Auſter;
 Perpetuove jacet tellus ubi torrida ab igni: 205
 Quanta ibi pauperies et inertia! quanta ferinis
 Offuſa eſt animis caligo, inſanus et error!
 Vix hominis, præter formam, veſtigia cernas.

Quid nos, uberiora Deus quibus ipſe ſalutis
 Lumina dat, ducitque manu, ſanctiſſima cuſtos, 210
 Relligio; ducit, non vi trahit imperioſa?
 Ecce renitentes jubar immortale diem;
 Odimus oblatam, commentaque vana t. or mus;
 Vana Sophiſtarum gloſſemata, luce relictæ.
 His pro quiſquiliis heu! digladiamur, ut aris, 215
 Implacabiliter: quot cædes inde, cruorque
 Fraternalis! Pietas quot parturit impia facta!

Uſque adeo morum vitioſa licentia miſcet
 Fas omne atque neſas, graſſata impunè per orbem.

Illa

Why deviate then so many from this law ?
 See passions, custom, vice, and folly draw !
 Survey the rolling globe from east to west,
 How few, alas ! how very few are blest ? 215
 Beneath the frozen poles, and burning line,
 What poverty and indolence combine,
 To cloud with error's mists the human mind !
 No trace of man, but in the form we find.

And are we free from error and distress, 220
 Whom Heav'n with clearer light has pleas'd to bless ?
 Whom true religion leads ? (for she but leads
 By soft persuasion, not by force proceeds ;)
 Behold how we avoid this radiant sun,
 This proffer'd guide how obstinately shun, 225 }
 And after Sophistry's vain systems run !
 For these as for essentials we engage
 In wars, and massacres with holy rage ;
 Brothers by brothers' impious hands are slain,
 Mistaken zeal, how savage is thy reign ! 230

Unpunish'd vices here so much abound,
 All right, and wrong, all order they confound ;

Illa gigantea est vis, quæ rescindere cœlum 220
 Conatur, montesque imponere montibus audet.
 Aspicit hæc, Deus an nequicquam fulmina librat?
 Pectora an humani nihil immortalia tangit?
 Aspicit; impropere licet, sua quemque sequentur
 Præmia pro meritis; neque pœna incerta morando
 est 225

Haud equidem humanis dubito quin nunc quoque
 rebus
 Ipse interveniat Deus, et ne funditus omnis
 Intereat sensus divini Vindicis, edat
 Per gentes exempla modis insignia miris.
 Parciùs ista tamen; non, ut temeraria fingit 230
 Usque Superstitio, torquet quæ Numinis iram
 In quoscunque velit, suaque eripit arma Tonanti.

Nec sum animi ignarus quid mens sibi conscia possit;
 Ut neque sit virtus jam nunc mercede sine ulla,
 Nec nullas dum vita manet des, improbe, pœnas; 235
 Quanquam homines fallas haud te tamen effugis ipse:

These are the giants, who the gods defy,
 And mountains heap on mountains to the sky;
 Sees this th' Almighty Judge, or seeing spares, 235
 And deems the crimes of man beneath his cares?
 He sees; and will at last rewards bestow,
 And punishments, not less assur'd for being slow.

Nor doubt I, tho' this state confus'd appears,
 That ev'n in this God sometimes interferes; 240
 Sometimes, lest man shou'd quite his pow'r disown,
 He makes that power to trembling nations known:
 But rarely this; not for each vulgar end,
 As Superstition's idle tales pretend,
 Who thinks all foes to God who are her own, 245
 Directs his thunder, and usurps his throne.

Nor know I not how much a conscious mind
 Avails to punish, or reward mankind;
 Ev'n in this life thou, impious wretch, must feel
 The fury's scourges, and th' infernal wheel; 250
 From man's tribunal, tho' thou hop'st to run,
 Thyself thou can'st not, nor thy conscience shun:

Te Diræ ultrices agitant, te Cura remordet
 Sæva comes, memorique habitat sub pectore vindex.

Quid tibi sæpe graves cum morbi, debita luxûs
 Dona, pthifes lentæ, tormenta et acuta podagræ, 240
 Atque tumens hydrops, spasmusque, urensque marasmus
 Incubûere, cohors funesta? hinc degitur ævi
 Portio si qua manet crudeli exesa dolore;
 Et quorum in vita posita est spes unica, tædet
 Vivendi, mortemque simul cupiuntque timentque. 245

Sin horum ad feros aliquis pervenerit annos,
 Non habet unde isthoc compenset; nam neque dulces
 Carpit amicitæ fructus, neque laude bonorum
 Pascitur, atque sua, quoties anteacta revolvit;
 At focii jam tum luxûs fugère prioris, 250
 Vilis adulator vacuas quoque deferit ædes;
 Atque illum, si quando oculos converterit intus,
 Terret imago suû, sese et dum respicit horret.
 Ille etiam cum Mors adstat, telumque coruscat
 Jam jamque intentans ictum, quas non adit artes 255
 Anxius, ut miserum medica vi proroget ævum

Paulisper,

What must thou suffer when each dire disease,
 The progeny of vice, thy fabric seize ?
 Consumption, fever, and the racking pain 255
 Of spasms, and gout, and stone, a frightful train !
 When life new tortures can alone supply,
 Life thy sole hope thou'lt hate, yet dread to die.

Shou'd such a wretch to num'rous years arrive,
 It can be little worth his while to live : 260
 No honours, no regards his age attend,
 Companions fly ; he ne'er could have a friend :
 His flatterers leave him, and with wild affright
 He looks within, and shudders at the sight :
 When threatning Death uplifts his pointed dart 265
 With what impatience he applies to art,

Life

Paulisper, mille et per curas vita trahatur ?
 Quòd si *vita* referta malis, nostrique superstes
 Post mortem nihil est, cur ultima territat hora ?
 Sic est, hæret adhuc quam spernere velle videtur, 260
 Nescio quæ fortis cura importuna futuræ.

At contra quibus innocua et sine crimine vita est,
 Quique alios norunt sibi devincire merendo,
 Aut qui præclaris ditârunt sæcla repertis, —
 Illis nectareo manans de fonte feremat 265
 Conscia laus animum, tranquillaque temperat ora.
 Non metus abrumpit somnos, non invida cura ;
 Non Venus aut Bacchus vires minuere, neque illos
 Res aut adversæ frangunt instantve secundæ :
 Cui spes ulterior, casus munitur ad omnes. — 270
 Ergo senectutem labentes leniter anni
 Cum sensim attulerint, mortem ista mente propinquam
 Aspicit, ut longis qui tempestatibus actus
 Portum in conspectu tenet, effugiumque malorum.

Scilicet

Life to prolong amidst disease and pains !
 Why this, if after it no sense remains ?
 Why shou'd he chuse these miseries to endure,
 If Death cou'd grant an everlasting cure ? 270
 'Tis plain there's something whispers in his ear,
 (Tho' fain he'd hide it) he has much to fear.

See the reverse how happy those we find,
 Who know by merit to engage mankind ?
 Prais'd by each tongue, by ev'ry heart belov'd, 275
 For virtues practis'd, and for arts improv'd :
 Their easy aspects shine with smiles serene,
 And all is peace, and happiness within :
 Their sleep is ne'er disturb'd by fears or strife,
 Nor lust, nor wine, impair the springs of life. 280
 Him Fortune cannot sink, nor much elate,
 Whose views extend beyond this mortal state ;
 By age when summon'd to resign his breath,
 Calm, and serene, he sees approaching death,
 As the safe port, the peaceful silent shore, 285
 Where he may rest, life's tedious voyage o'er :
 He,

Scilicet hunc unum mortis vicinia terret, 275
 Qui sibi præmetuit si quid post funera restet ;
 Non hunc qui rectè vitam sanctèque peregit.
 Hic, sese excutiens sibi plaudit, et aureus ut sol
 Usque sub occasum diffuso lumine ridet :
 Hic, matura dies cum mortis venerit, ævum 280
 Suspicit immortale, hic spe meliore triumphans
 Cœlicolûm jam nunc prælibat gaudia votis.
 Talis erat grata semper quem mente recordor
 Ille, decus mitræ, libertatisque fatelles,
 Dum tanti tempus propugnatoris egebat 285
 Houghius ; hic, numeros prope centenarius omnes
 Cum vitæ explêrat ; florenti plenus honore,
 Sensibus integris, sine morbo, expertusque doloris,
 Vivendique satur, sic vita exhibat, ut actor
 E scena egregius toto plaudente teatro ; 290
 Aut qui post stadium summa cum laude peractum
 Victor Olympiacæ poscit sibi præmia palmæ.

His patet indiciis animi vis conscia quantùm
 Spe foveat, crucietur metu mortalia corda.

Unde

He, and he only, is of death afraid,
 Whom his own conscience has a coward made ;
 Whilst he, who Virtue's radiant course has run,
 Descends like a serenely setting sun, 290
 His thoughts triumphant Heav'n alone employs,
 And Hope anticipates his future joys.
 So good, so blest th' illustrious *Hough** we find,
 Whose image dwells with pleasure on my mind ;
 The mitre's glory, Freedom's constant friend, 295
 In times which ask'd a champion to defend ;
 Who after near an hundred virtuous years,
 His senses perfect, free from pains and fears,
 Replete with life, with honours, and with age,
 Like an applauded actor left the stage ; 300
 Or like some victor in th' Olympic games,
 Who, having run his course, the crown of glory claims.

From this just contrast plainly it appears,
 How conscience can inspire both hopes and fears ;

* Bishop of Worcester.

But

Unde sed iste metus, quid spes velit illa rogarim, 295
 Si nil sperandum est, obita nil morte timendum ?
 En ut venturo conspirent omnia sæclo !

Quocirca in terris benè seu res seu malè cedat,
 Vir sapiens nec amat vitam neque tetricus odit:
 Intus enim quo se duro in discrimine rerum 300
 Consoletur, habet ; sin aura faventior afflet,
 Immemor haud vivit quàm lubrica, quàmque caduca
 Fortunæ bona sint ; bona si quis censet habenda,
 Perdere quæ metuit, quæve aspernatur adeptus.

Nec vereare quidem ne fortè ad munia vitæ 305
 Segnior hinc animus detrectet ferre labores,
 Atque pericla subire, vocet si publicus usus :
 Liberum et erectum potiùs, rebusque in agendis
 Fortem hominem invictumque facit, casusque per omnes
 Roborat externarum hæc despicientia rerum. 310

But whence proceed these hopes, or whence this
dread, 305

If nothing really can affect the dead ?

See all things join to promise, and presage

The sure arrival of a future age !

Whate'er their lot is here, the good and wife,

Nor doat on life, nor peevishly despise. 310

An honest man, when Fortune's storms begin,

Has Consolation always sure within,

And, if she sends a more propitious gale,

He's pleas'd, but not forgetful it may fail.

Nor fear that he, who sits so loose to life, 315

Shou'd too much shun its labours, and its strife ;

And scorning wealth, contented to be mean,

Shrink from the duties of this bustling scene ;

Or, when his country's safety claims his aid,

Avoid the fight inglorious, and afraid : 320

Who scorns life most must surely be most brave,

And he, who pow'r contemns, be least a slave :

Virtue will lead him to Ambition's ends,

And prompt him to defend his country and his friends.

Hunc tamen incusas, ut quem, spes unica mercis
 Non veræ virtutis amor, non sensus honesti
 Servat in officio ; nempe huic est sordida virtus
 Qui rectè facit ut post mortem præmia carpat.
 Ille bonus verè est, quem, spes si nulla futuri, 315
 Ad pulerum atque decens per se super omnia ducit
 Morum dulce melos, & agendi semita simplex.
 Esto ; nec ille malus qui non hîc hæret, at illam
 Quò natura trahit metam scit rite tueri ;
 Semper et innatis ultra mortalia votis 320
 Fertur ovans, pulcrumque petit sine fine supremum.

Ergo age dic fodes quæ præmia, quid sibi sperat
 Mercedis ? namque haud sectatur vilia rerum.
 Illum, non usura vorax, non turba sequentûm,
 Non mendax plausus, fucataque gloria ; non quæ 325
 Prava per incautum spargit mendacia vulgus
 Ambitio tenet, aut titulorum splendor inanis :
 At quò verus honos, quò fert natura, decusque
 Humani generis jubet ire, viriliter ibit :
 Virtutesque alias aliis virtutibus addens, 330
 Donec in hac vitæ sese exercere palæstra
 Cogitur, ingenium fata ad meliora parabit.

Cætera

But still his merit you can not regard, 325
 Who thus pursues a posthumous reward ;
 His soul, you cry, is uncorrupt and great,
 Who quite uninfluenc'd by a future state,
 Embraces Virtue from a nobler sense
 Of her abstracted, native excellence, 330
 From the self conscious joy her essence brings,
 The beauty, fitness, harmony of things.
 It may be so : yet he deserves applause,
 Who follows where instructive Nature draws ;
 Aims at rewards by her indulgence giv'n, 335
 And soars triumphant on her wings to heav'n.

Say what this venal virtuous man pursues,
 No mean rewards, no mercenary views ;
 Not wealth usurious, or a num'rous train,
 Not fame by fraud acquir'd, or title vain ! 340
 He follows but where Nature points the road,
 Rising in Virtue's school, till he ascends to God.

Cætera pars hominum ferimur jactante procella
 Ut ratis, huc illuc; et per diversa viarum
 Conatu ingenti fugientem prendimus umbram. 335
 Ac veluti infantes pueri crepitacula poscunt
 Ardenti studio, mox, parta relinquere gaudent;
 Sic etiam in plenis homines pueraſcimus annis.
 At bene perſuaſum cui ſit, non eſſe ſupremam
 Hanc animi vitam, reſtare ſed altera fata, 340
 Salva illi res eſt, neque ſpe lactatur inani.
 Quippe ubi mens hominis purum ſimplexque requirat
 Irrequieta bonum, non ſperat forte potiri
 Jam nunc felici: quid enim? nunc, vivimus omnes
 Pravum ubi commiſtum recto eſt; ubi triſtia lætis; 345
 Ipſa ubi delirans inhiat ſapientia nugas;
 Atque in odoratis florent aconita roſetis:
 Omnia miſta quidem, fluxa omnia, ludicra demum
 Omnia, nec votis eſt quod reſpondeat uſquam.
 Forſan et ipſe Deus, divinum exquirere ſi fas 350
 Conſilium, ſic res attemperat, uſque ſecundis
 Adverſas miſcens, et amaris dulcia condit;
 Spernere ut hinc diſcat terreſtria mens, et amicia
 Caſtigata malis, cœlo ſpem ponat in uno,
 Quo domus et patria eſt, requies ubi ſola laborum. 355
 Quare

But we th' inglorious common herd of Man,
 Sail without compass, toil without a plan ;
 In Fortune's varying storms for ever tost, 345
 Shadows pursue, that in pursuit are lost ;
 Mere infants all, till life's extremest day,
 Scrambling for toys, then tossing them away.
 Who rests of immortality assur'd
 Is safe, whatever ills are here endur'd : 350
 He hopes not vainly in a world like this,
 To meet with pure uninterrupted bliss ;
 For good and ill, in this imperfect state,
 Are ever mix'd by the decrees of fate.
 With Wisdom's richest harvest Folly grows, 355
 And baleful hemlock mingles with the rose ;
 All things are blended, changeable, and vain,
 No hope, no wish we perfectly obtain :
 God may perhaps (might human Reason's line
 Pretend to fathom infinite design) 360
 Have thus ordain'd things, that the restless mind
 No happiness compleat on earth may find ;
 And, by this friendly chastisement made wise,
 To heav'n her safest best retreat may rise.

Quare age, jam tandem memoratâ recollige mecum.
 Quippe viam emensus dubiam, scopulosque latentes
 Erroris nunc prætervectus et æquora cæca
 Conspicio portum: Nempe hæc quæ cogitat et vult,
 Mens haud terrenis confata est ex elementis ; 300
 Ergo naturâ est quiddam immortale suapte.
 Verùm hanc interea Deus hanc extinguere possit :
 Esto, Deus possit si fert divina voluntas ;
 At non extinguet : neque enim vis illa sciendi
 Tot res humana tam longè forte remotas ; 365
 Nec porro æterni nunquam satiata cupido ;
 Nec desiderium nostris in mentibus hærens
 Per. frustra est. Jam si fas jusque requirunt
 Ut sceleri malè sit, benè virtutique, nec illa
 Alter i fors obtingat, dum vivitur istic ; 370
 Restat ut hoc alio fiat discrimen in ævo.

Come then, since now in safety we have past 365
 Thro' Error's rocks, and see the port at last,
 Let us review and recollect the whole.——
 Thus stands my argument.——The thinking soul
 Cannot terrestrial, or material be,
 But claims by nature immortality ; 37
 God, who created it, can make it end,
 We question not, but cannot apprehend
 He will ; because it is by him endued
 With strong ideas of all perfect good :
 With wond'rous pow'rs to know and calculate 375
 Things too remote from this our earthly state ;
 With sure presages of a life to come,
 All false and useless ; if beyond the tomb
 Our beings cease : we therefore can't believe
 God either acts in vain, or can deceive. 380

If ev'ry rule of equity demands,
 That Vice and Virtue from the Almighty's hands
 Shou'd due rewards, and punishments receive,
 And this by no means happens whilst we live ;
 It follows that a time must surely come, 385
 When each shall meet their well-adjusted doom :

G 4

Then

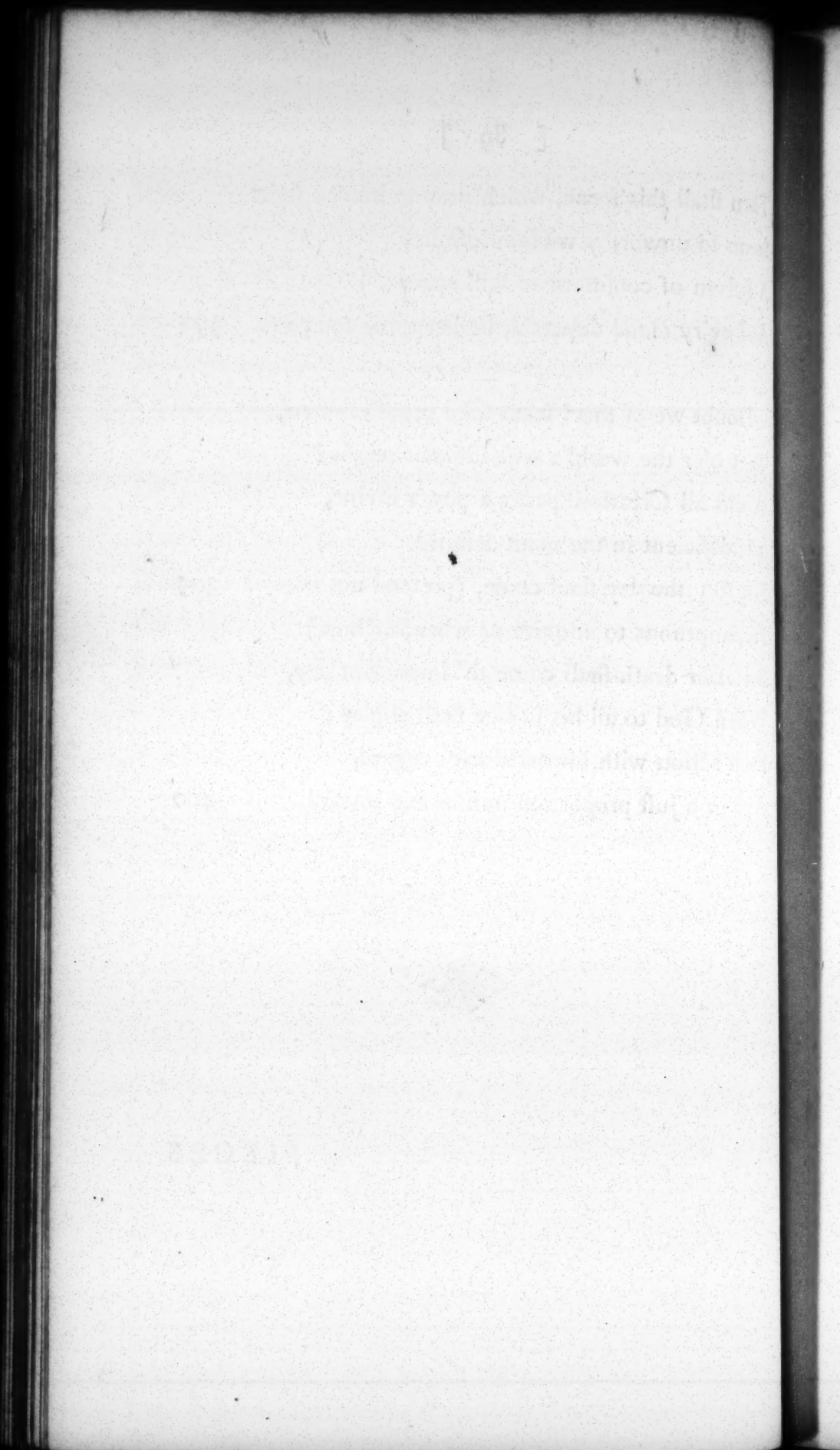
Tum vero quæ nunc rudis, et sapiente bonoque,
 Si genus humanum spectes, haud Numine digna est
 Scena, revelabit dempta se nube, colorque
 Verus erit rebus, verusque videbitur ordo. 375
 Hoc nisi credideris, dic, qua ratione probetur
 Omnino esse Deum summo qui consilio res
 Justitiaque regit; num cætera scilicet aptè
 Dirigit, hac quæ præcipua est in parte laborat?
 Haud ita; tempus erit, noli quo quærere more, 380
 Hoc satis est, hoc constat, erit post funera tempus;
 Cum Deus, ut par est, æquos excernet iniquis,
 Sontibus insontes, et idonea cuique rependet.



Then shall this scene, which now to human sight
 Seems so unworthy wisdom infinite,
 A system of consummate skill appear,
 And ev'ry cloud dispers'd, be beautiful and clear. 390

Doubt we of this ! what solid proof remains,
 That o'er the world a wise disposer reigns ?
 Whilst all Creation speaks a pow'r divine,
 Is it deficient in the main design ?
 Not so : the day shall come, (pretend not now 395
 Presumptuous to enquire or when, or how)
 But after death shall come th' important day,
 When God to all his justice shall display ;
 Each action with impartial eyes regard,
 And in a just proportion punish and reward. 400





P I E C E S,
R E L I G I O U S,
M O R ' A L,
M E T A P H Y S I C A L,
A N D
P O L I T I C A L.

W O R L D.

N U M B E R CXXV.

HAD the many wise philosophers of antiquity, who have so often and so justly compared the life of man to a race, lived in the present times, they would have seen the propriety of that simile greatly augmented; for if we observe the behaviour of the polite part of this nation (that is, of *all* the nation) we shall see that their whole lives are one continued race; in which every one is endeavouring to distance all behind him, and to overtake, or pass by, all who are before him: every one is flying from his inferiors, in pursuit of his superiors who fly from Him with equal alacrity.

Were

Were not the consequences of this ridiculous pride of the most destructive nature to the public, the scene would be really entertaining. Every tradesman is a merchant, every merchant is a gentleman, and every gentleman one of the nobles. We are a nation of gentry, *populus generosorum* : we have no such thing as common people amongst us : between vanity and gin, the species is utterly destroyed. The sons of our lowest mechanics, acquiring with their learning at charity-schools, the laudable ambition of becoming gentle-folks, despise their paternal occupations, and are all soliciting for the honourable employments of tidewaiters and excisemen. Their girls are all milliners, mantua-makers, or lady's women ; or presumptuously exercise that genteel profession, which used to be peculiarly reserved for the politely-educated, but unportioned daughters of their superiors. Attorneys clerks and city prentices dress like cornets of dragoons, keep their mis-

treffes and their hunters, criticise at the play, and toast at the tavern. The merchant leaves his compting-house for St. James's; and the country-gentleman his own affairs for those of the public, by which neither of them receive much benefit. Every commoner of distinction is impatient for a peerage, and treads hard upon the heels of quality in dress, equipage and expences of every kind. The nobility, who can aim no higher, plunge themselves into debt and dependance, to preserve their rank; and are even there quickly overtaken by their unmerciful pursuers.

The same foolish vanity, that thus prompts us to imitate our superiors, induces us also to be, or pretend to be, their inseparable companions; or as the phrase is, to keep the *best company*; by which is always to be understood, such company as are much above us in rank or fortune, and consequently despise and avoid us, in the same manner as we ourselves do our inferiors.

inferiors. By this ridiculous affectation are all the pleasures of social life, and all the advantages of friendly converse utterly destroyed. We chuse not our companions for their wit and learning, their good humour or good sense, but for their power of conferring this imaginary dignity ; as if greatness was communicable, like the powers of the load-stone, by friction, or by contact, like electricity. Every young gentleman is taught to believe it is more eligible, and more honourable, to destroy his time, his fortune, his morals, and his understanding at a gaming-house with the *best company*, than to improve them all in the conversation of the most ingenious and entertaining of his equals ; and every self-conceited girl in fashionable life, chuses rather to endure the affected silence and insolent head-ach of my lady duchess for a whole evening, than to pass it in mirth and jollity with the most amiable of her acquaintance. For since it is possible that some of my
 readers

readers who have not had the honour of being admitted into the *best company*, should imagine that amongst such there is ever the best conversation, the most lively wit, the most profound judgment, the most engaging affability and politeness; it may be proper to inform them, that this is by no means always the case; but that frequently in such company little is said and less attended to; no disposition appears either to please others, or to be pleased themselves; but that in the room of all the before-mentioned agreeable qualifications, cards are introduced, endued with the convenient power of reducing all men's understandings, as well as their fortunes, to an equality.

It is pleasant to observe how this race, converted into a kind of perpetual warfare between the *good* and *bad company* in this country, has subsisted for half a century last past; in which the former have been perpetually pursued by the latter, and fairly beaten out of all their resources

for superior distinction ; out of innumerable fashions in dress, and variety of diversions, every one of which they have been obliged to abandon, as soon as occupied by their impertinent rivals. In vain have they armed themselves with lace and embroidery, and intrenched themselves in hoops and furbelows : in vain have they had recourse to full-bottomed periwigs, and toupees ; to high-heads, and low-heads, and no heads at all : trade has bestowed riches on their competitors, and riches have procured them equal finery. Hair has curled as genteely on one side of Temple-bar, as on the other, and hoops have grown to as prodigious a magnitude in the foggy air of Cheapside, as in the purer regions of Grosvenor-square and Hill-street.

With as little success have opera's, oratorio's, ridotto's, and other expensive diversions been invented to exclude *bad company* : tradesmen, by enhancing their prices, have found tickets for their wives

and daughters, and by this means have been enabled to insult the *good company*, their customers, at their own expence : and like true conquerors, have obliged the enemy to pay for their defeat. But this stratagem has in some measure been obviated by the prudence of the *very best company*, who, for this, and many other wise considerations, have usually declined paying them at all.

For many years was this combat between the *good* and *bad company* of this metropolis performed, like the ancient tilts and tournaments, before his Majesty and the Royal Family, every Friday night in the drawing-room at St. James's, which now appears, as it usually fares with the seat of war, desolate and uninhabited, and totally deserted on both sides : except that on a twelfth-night, the *bad company* never fail to assemble, to commemorate annually the victories they have there obtained.

The *good company* being thus every

H 2

where

where put to flight, they thought proper at last to retire to their own citadels; that is, to form numerous and brilliant assemblies at their own hotels, in which they imagined that they could neither be imitated nor intruded on. But here again they were grievously mistaken; for no sooner was the signal given, but every little lodging-house in town, of two rooms and a closet on a floor, or rather of two closets and a cupboard, teemed with card tables, and overflowed with company: and as making a crowd was the great point here principally aimed at, the smaller the houses, and the more indifferent the company, this point was the more easily effected. Nor could intrusion be better guarded against, than imitation; for by some means or other, either by the force of beauty or of dress, of wealth or impudence, of folly enough to lose great sums at play, or of knavery enough to win them, or of some such eminent and extraordinary qualifications, their plebeian enemies

soon

soon broke through the strongest of their barriers, and mingled in the thickest of their ranks, to the utter destruction of all superiority and distinction.

But though it must be owned that the affairs of the *good company* are now in a very bad situation, yet I would not have them despair, nor perpetually carry about the marks of their defeat in their countenances, so visible in a mixture of *fiercé* and dejection. They have still one asylum left to fly to, which with all their advantages of birth and education, it is surprising they should not long since have discovered; but since they have not, I shall beg leave to point it out; and it is this: that they once more retire to the long deserted forts of true British grandeur, their princely seats and magnificent castles in their several countries, and there, arming themselves with religion and virtue, hospitality and charity, civility and friendship, bid defiance to their impertinent pursuers: and though I will not un-

dertake that they shall not, even here, be followed in time, and imitated by their inferiors, yet so averse are all ranks of people at present to this sort of retirement, so totally disused from the exercise of these kinds of arms, and so unwilling to return to it, that I will venture to promise, it will be very long before they can be taken or attacked ; but that here, and here only, they may enjoy their favourite singularity, unmolested for half a century to come.

T H E

W O R L D.

N U M B E R C L I I I .

HAVING been frequently pressed by Sir John Jolly, (an old friend of mine possessed of a fine seat, a large park, and a plentiful estate) to pass a few weeks with him in the country, I determined last autumn to accept his invitation, proposing to myself the highest pleasure from changing the noise and hurry of this bustling metropolis, for the agreeable silence, and soothing indolence of a rural retirement. I accordingly set out one morning, and early the next arrived at the habitation of my friend, situated in a most delicious and romantic spot, which (the owner having fortunately no TASTE) is

H 4

not

not yet defaced by IMPROVEMENTS. On my approach, I abated a little of my travelling pace, to look round me, and admire the tow'ring hills, and fertile vales, the winding streams, the stately woods, and spacious lawns, which, gilded by the sunshine of a beautiful morning, on every side afforded a most enchanting prospect ; and I pleased myself with the thoughts of the happy hours I should spend amidst these pastoral scenes, in reading, in meditation, or in soft repose, inspired by the lowing of distant herds, the falls of waters, and the melody of birds.

I was received with a hearty welcome, and many shakes by the hand by my old friend, whom I had not seen for many years, except once when he was called to town by a prosecution in the King's bench, for misunderstanding the sense of an act of parliament, which, on examination, was found to be nonsense. He is an honest gentleman of a middle age, a hale constitution, good natural parts, and
abundant

abundant spirits; a keen sportsman, an active magistrate, and a tolerable farmer, not without some ambition of acquiring a seat in parliament, by his interest in a neighbouring borough: so that between his pursuits of game, of justice, and popularity, besides the management of a large quantity of land, which he keeps in his own hands, as he terms it, for amusement, every moment of his time is sufficiently employed. His wife is an agreeable woman, of about the same age, and has been handsome; but though years have somewhat impaired her charms, they have not in the least her relish for company, cards, balls, and all manner of public diversions.

On my arrival, I was first conducted into the breakfast-room, which, with some surprise, I saw quite filled with genteel persons of both sexes, in dishabille, with their hair in papers; the cause of which I was quickly informed of, by the many apologies of my lady for the meanness of the
apartment

apartment she was obliged to allot me,
 “ By reason the house was so crouded with
 “ company during the time of their races,
 “ which, she said, began that very day for
 “ the whole week, and for which they were
 “ immediately preparing.” I was instantly
 attacked by all present with one voice,
 or rather with many voices at the same
 time, to accompany them thither; to
 which I made no opposition, thinking it
 would be attended with more trouble than
 the expedition itself.

As soon as the ladies and the equipages
 were ready, we issued forth in a most magnificent
 cavalcade; and after travelling five
 or six miles through bad roads, we arrived
 at the Red Lion, just as the ordinary was
 making its appearance on the table. The
 ceremonials of this sumptuous entertain-
 ment, which consisted of cold fish, lean
 chickens, rusty hams, raw venison, stale
 game, green fruit, and grapeless wines,
 destroyed at least two hours, with five
 times that number of heads, ruffles, and
 suits

suits of cloaths, by the unfortunate effusion of butter and gravy. From hence we proceeded a few miles farther to the race-ground, where nothing, I think, extraordinary happened, but that amongst much disorder and drunkenness, few limbs, and no necks were broken : and from these Olympic games, which, to the great emolument of pick-pockets, lasted till it was dark, we galloped back to the town through a soaking shower, to dress for the assembly. But this I found no easy task ; nor could I possibly accomplish it, before my cloaths were quite dried upon my back ; my servant staying behind to settle his betts, and having stowed my portmanteau into the boot of some coach, which he could not find, to save himself both the trouble and indignity of carrying it.

Being at last equipped, I entered the ball-room, where the smell of a stable over which it was built, the favour of the neighbouring kitchen, the fumes of tallow candles, rum punch, and tobacco dispersed
over

over the whole house, and the balsamic effluvia's from many sweet creatures who were dancing, with almost equal strength contended for superiority. The company was numerous and well-drest, and differed not in any respect from that of the most brilliant assembly in London, but in seeming better pleased, and more desirous of pleasing; that is, happier in themselves, and civiller to each other. I observed the door was blocked up the whole night by a few fashionable young men, whose faces I remember to have seen about town, who would neither dance, drink tea, play at cards, nor speak to any one, except now and then in whispers to a young lady, who sat in silence at the upper end of the room, in a hat and negligee, with her back against the wall, her arms a-kimbo, her legs thrust out, a sneer on her lips, a scowl on her forehead, and an invincible assurance in her eyes. This lady I had also frequently met with, but could not then recollect where; but have since

since learnt, that she had been toad-eater to a woman of quality, and turned off for too close and presumptuous an imitation of her betters. Their behaviour affronted most of the company, yet obtained the desired effect: for I overheard several of the country ladies say "It was a pity they were so proud; for to be sure they were prodigious well-bred people and had an immense deal of wit." A mistake they could never have fallen into, had these patterns of politeness condescended to have entered into any conversation. Dancing and cards, with the refreshment of cold chickens and negus about twelve, carried us on till day-break, when our coaches being ready, with much solicitation, and more squeezing, I obtained a place in one, in which no more than six had before artificially seated themselves; and about five in the morning, through many and great perils, we arrived safely at home.

It was now the middle of harvest,
which

which had not a little suffered by our diversions ; and therefore our coach-horses were immediately degraded to a cart ; and having rested during our fatigues, by a just distribution of things, were now obliged to labour, while we were at rest. I mean not in this number to include myself ; for, though I hurried immediately to bed, no rest could I obtain for some time, for the rumbling of carts, and the conversation of their drivers just under my window. Fatigue at length got the better of all obstacles, and I fell asleep ; but had scarce closed my eyes, when I was awaked by a much louder noise, which was that of a whole pack of hounds, with their vociferous attendants, setting out to meet my friend, and some choice spirits, whom we had just left behind at the assembly, and who chose this manner of refreshment after a night's debauch, rather than the more usual and inglorious one of going to bed. These sounds dying away by their distance, I again composed myself to rest ; but

was

was presently again roused by more discordant tongues, uttering all the grossness of Drury-lane, and scurrility of Billingsgate. I now waked indeed with somewhat more satisfaction, at first thinking, by this unpastoral dialogue, that I was once more returned safe to London; but I soon perceived my mistake, and understood that these were some innocent and honest neighbours of Sir John's, who were coming to determine their gentle disputes before his tribunal, and being ordered to wait till his return from hunting, were resolved to make all possible use of this suspension of justice. It being now towards noon, I gave up all thoughts of sleep; and it was well I did; for I was presently alarmed by a confusion of voices, as loud, though somewhat sweeter than the former. As they proceeded from the parlour under me, amidst much giggling, laughing, squeaking, and screaming, I could distinguish only the few following incoherent words—*horrible—frightful—ridiculous—*

Friesland

Frießland hen—rouge—Red Lion at Brentford—stays padded—ram's-horn—saucy minx—impertinent coxcomb. I started up, dressed me, and went down, where I found the same polite company, who breakfasted there the day before, in the same attitude, discoursing of their friends, with whom they had so agreeably spent the last night, and to whom they were again hastening with the utmost impatience. I was saluted with a how d'ye from them all at the same instant, and again pressed into the service of the day.

In this manner I went through the persecutions of the whole week, with the sufferings and resolution, but not with the reward of a martyr, as I found no peace at the last: for at the conclusion of it, Sir John obligingly requested me to make my stay with him as long as I possibly could, assuring me, that though the races were now over, I should not want diversions; for that next week he expected Lord Rattle, Sir Harry Bumper, and a
large

large fox-hunting party; and that the week after, being the full moon, they should pay and receive all their neighbouring visits, and spend their evenings very sociably together; by which is signified, in the country dialect, eating, drinking, and playing at cards all night. My lady added with a smile, and much delight in her eyes, that she believed they should not be alone one hour in the whole week, and that she hoped I should not think the country so dull and melancholy a place as I expected. Upon this information I resolved to leave it immediately, and told them, I was extremely sorry that I was hindered by particular business from any longer enjoying so much polite and agreeably company; but that I had received a letter, which made it necessary for me to be in town. My friend said he was no less concerned; but that I must not positively go, till after to-morrow; for that he then expected the mayor and aldermen of his corporation, some of whom

were facetious companions, and sung well. This determined me to set out that very evening; which I did with much satisfaction; and made all possible haste, in search of silence and solitude, to my lodgings, next door to a brazier's, at Charing-cross.

T H E

W O R L D.

N U M B E R C L V I I .

ONE can scarce pass an hour in any company, without hearing it frequently asserted, that the present generation of servants in this country are the proudest, and the laziest, the most profligate, insolent, and extravagant set of mortals any where to be found on the face of the globe: to which indisputable truth I always readily give my assent, with but one single exception, which is that of their masters and ladies. Now, though by this exception I have incurred the contemptuous smiles of many a wise face, and the indignant frowns of many a pretty one, yet I shall here venture to shew, that the

pride and laziness of our servants, from whence their profligacy, insolence, and extravagance must unavoidably proceed, are entirely owing, not only to our example, but to our cultivation, and are but the natural productions of the same imperfections in ourselves.

In the first place then, pride has put it into our heads, that it is most honourable to be waited on by gentlemen and ladies ; and all, who are really such by birth or education, having also too much of the same pride, however necessitous, to submit to any servitude however easy, we are obliged to take the lowest of the people, and convert them by our own ingenuity into the genteel personages, we think proper should attend us. Hence our very footmen are adorned with gold and silver, with bags, toupees, and ruffles : the valet de chambre cannot be distinguished from his master, but by being better dressed ; and Joan, who used to be but *as good as my lady in the dark*, is now by no means her inferior

inferior in the day-light. In great families I have frequently intreated the *maitre d'Hotel* to go before me, and have pulled a chair for the butler, imagining them to be part, and not the least genteel part of the company. Their diversions too are no less polite than their appearance; in the country they are sportsmen, in town they frequent plays, operas, and taverns, and at home have their routs and their gaming-tables.

But lest thus exalting our servants to an equality with ourselves should not sufficiently augment their pride, and destroy all subordination, we take another method still more effectually to compleat the work, which is, debasing ourselves to their meanness by a ridiculous imitation of their dresses and occupations. Hence were derived the flapped hat, and cropped hair, the green frock, the long staff, and buckskin breeches: hence, amongst the ladies, the round-eared cap, the stuff night-gown, white apron, and black leather

ther shoe: and hence many persons of the highest rank daily employ themselves in riding matches, driving coaches, or in running before them, in order to convince their domestics how greatly they are inferior to them in the execution of these honourable offices. Since then we make use of so much art to corrupt our servants, have we reason to be angry with their concurrence? Since we take so much pains to inform them of their superiority, and our weakness, can we be surprised that they despise us, or displeased with their insolence and impertinence?

As the pride of servants thus proceeds from the pride, so does their laziness from the laziness, of their masters: and indeed, if there is any characteristic peculiar to the young people of fashion of the present age, it is their laziness, or an extreme unwillingness to attend to any thing that can give them the least trouble or disquietude; without any degree of which they would fain enjoy all the luxuries of life, in contradiction

tradition to the dispositions of providence, and the nature of things. They would have great estates without any management, great expences without any accounts, and great families without any discipline or œconomy ; in short, they are fit only to be inhabitants of *Lubberland*, where, as the child's geography informs us, men lie upon their backs with their mouths open, and it rains fat pigs, ready roasted. From this principle, when the pride they have infused into their servants has produced a proportionable degree of laziness, their own laziness is too prevalent to suffer them to struggle with that of their servants ; and they rather chuse that all business should be neglected, than to enforce the performance of it ; and to give up all authority, rather than take the pains to support it : from whence it happens, that in great and noble families, where the domestics are very numerous, they will not so much as wait upon themselves ; and was it not for the friendly assistance of

chair-women, porters, chair-men, and shoe-blacks, procured by a generous distribution of coals, candles, and provisions, the common offices of life could never be executed. In such it is often as difficult to procure conveniences, as in a desert island; and one frequently wants necessities in the midst of profuseness and extravagance. In such families I have sometimes been shut up in a cold room, and interdicted from the use of fire and water for half a day; and, though during my imprisonment I have seen numberless servants continually passing by, the utmost I could procure of them was, a promise that they would send somebody to relieve my necessities, which they never performed. In such I have seen, when a favourite dog has discharged a too plentiful dinner in the drawing-room, at the frequent ringing of the bell numerous attendants make their appearance, all intreated to depute some one to remove the nuisance with the utmost expedition, but

no one has been found in such a house mean enough to undertake such an employment; and so it has lain smoking under the noses of the illustrious company during the whole evening.

I could produce innumerable instances, minute indeed and unobserved, but well worthy observation, of the encroachments of our servants on our easiness and indolence, in the introduction of most of the fashions that have prevailed for several years past in our equipages, and domestic œconomy; all which are entirely calculated for their pleasure, ease, or advantage, in direct contradiction to our own. To mention but few: our coaches are made uneasy, but light, that they may whirl us along with the utmost rapidity, for their own amusement. Glasses before are laid aside, and we are immured in the dark, that the coachman may no longer be under our inspection, but be drunk or asleep without any observation. Family liveries are discarded, because badges of servility,
which

which might give information to whom their wearers belonged, and to whom complaints might be addressed of their enormities. By their carelessness and idleness they have obliged us to hire all our horses, and so have got rid of the labour of looking after them. By their impositions on the road they have forced us into post-chaises, by which means they are at liberty to travel by themselves, as it best suits their own ease and convenience. By their impertinence, which we have not patience to endure, nor resolution to repress, they have reduced us to dumb-waiters, that is, to wait upon ourselves ; by which means they have shaken off the trouble and condescension of attending us. By their profusion and mismanagement in house-keeping, they have compelled us to allow them board-wages ; by which means they have obtained a constant excuse to loiter at public-houses, and money in their pockets to squander there in gaming, drunkenness, and extravagance.

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The last of these is an evil of so gigantic a size, so conducive to the universal corruption of the lower part of this nation, and so entirely destructive of all family order, decency, and œconomy, that it well deserves the consideration of a legislature, who are not themselves under the influence of their servants, and can pay them their wages without any inconvenience.

From what has been said, it plainly appears, that every man in this country is ill-served in proportion to the number and dignity of his servants; the parson, or the tradesman, who keeps but two maids and a boy, not exceeding twelve years old, is usually very well waited on; the private gentleman infinitely worse; but persons of great fortunes or quality, afraid of the idols of their own setting up, are neglected, abused, and impoverished by their dependents; and the King himself, as is due to his exalted station, is more imposed on, and worse attended, than any one of his subjects.

T H E

W O R L D.

N U M B E R C L X I I I .

TH E R E was an ancient sect of philosophers, the disciples of Pythagoras, who held, that the souls of men, and all other animals existed in a state of perpetual transmigration; and that when by death they were dislodged from one corporeal habitation, they were immediately reinstated in another, happier or more miserable, according to their behaviour in the former: so that when any person made his exit from the stage of this world, he was supposed only to retire behind the scenes to be new dressed, and to have had a new part assigned him, more or less

less agreeable, in proportion to the merit of his performance in the last.

This doctrine of transmigration, I must own, was always a very favourite tenet of mine, and always appeared to me one of the most rational guesses of the human mind into a future state. I shall here therefore endeavour to shew the great probability of its truth, from the following considerations. First from its justice, secondly from its utility, and lastly from the difficulty we lie under to account for the sufferings of many innocent creatures without it.

First then, the justice of this system exceeds that of all others; because by it the great law of retaliation may be more strictly adhered to: for by means of this metamorphosis, men may suffer in one life the very same injuries which they have inflicted in another; and that too in the very same persons, by a change only of situation. Thus, for instance, the cruel tyrant who in one life has sported with
 / the

the miseries of his slaves, may in the next feel all the miseries of slavery under a master as unmerciful as himself. The relentless and unjust judge may be imprisoned, condemned, and hanged in his turn. Divines may be compelled by fire and faggot to believe the creeds and articles they have composed for the edification of others ; and soldiers may be plundered and ravished in the persons of defenceless peasants, and innocent virgins. The lawyer reviving in the character of a client, may be tormented with delay, expence, uncertainty, and disappointment ; and the physician, who in one life has taken exorbitant fees, may be obliged to take physic in another. All those who under the honourable denomination of sportsmen, have entertained themselves with the miseries and destruction of innocent animals, may be terrified and murdered in the shapes of hares, partridges, and wookcocks ; and all those, who under the more illustrious title of heroes, have delighted

delighted in the devastation of their own species, may be massacred by each other in the forms of invincible game-cocks, and pertinacious bull dogs. As for statesmen, ministers, and all great men devoted to great business, they, however guilty, cannot be more properly, nor more severely punished, than by being obliged to reassume their former characters, and to live the very same lives over again.

In the next place, the utility of this system is equal to its justice, and happily coincides with it : for by means of this transmigration, all the necessary inconveniences, and all the burthensome offices of life being imposed on those only, who by their misbehaviour in a former state have deserved them, become at once just punishments to them, and at the same time benefits to society ; and so all those who have injured the public in one life by their vices, are obliged in another to make reparation by their sufferings. Thus the tyrant, who by his power has oppressed his
country

country in the situation of a prince, in that of a slave may be compelled to do it some service by his labour. The highwayman who has stopped and plundered travellers, may expedite and assist them in the shape of a post-horse. The metaphorical buck, who has terrified sober citizens by his exploits, converted into a real one, may make them some compensation by his haunches; and mighty conquerors, who have laid waste the world by their swords, may be obliged, by a small alteration in sex and situation, to contribute to its re-peopling by the qualms of breeding, and the pains of child-birth.

For my own part, I verily believe this to be the case. I make no doubt but that Louis the Fourteenth is now chained to an oar in the gallies of France, and that Hernando Cortez is digging gold in the mines of Peru or Mexico. That Turpin the highwayman is several times a day spurred backwards and forwards between London and Epping; and that Lord ***

and

and Sir Harry **** are now actually roasting for a city feast. I question not but that Alexander the Great and Julius Cæsar have died many times in child-bed since their appearance in those illustrious and depopulating characters ; that Charles the Twelfth is at this instant a curate's wife in some remote village, with a numerous and increasing family ; and that Kouli Khan is now whipped from parish to parish in the person of a big bellied beggar-woman, with two children in her arms, and three at her back.

Lastly, the probability of this system appears from the difficulty of accounting for the sufferings of many innocent creatures without it : for if we look around us, we cannot but observe a great and wretched variety of this kind ; numberless animals subjected, by their own natures, to many miseries, and by our cruelties to many more ; incapable of crimes, and consequently incapable of deserving them ; called into being, as far as we can dis-

cover, only to be miserable for the service or diversion of others less meritorious than themselves ; without any possibility of preventing, deserving, or receiving recompence for their unhappy lot, if their whole existence is comprehended in the narrow and wretched circle of their present life. But the theory here inculcated, removes all these difficulties, and reconciles all these seemingly unjust dispensations with the strictest justice : it informs us, that these their sufferings may be by no means undeserved, but the just punishments of their former misbehaviour in a state, where, by means of their very vices, they may have escaped them. It teaches us that the pursued and persecuted fox was once probably some crafty and rapacious minister, who had purchased by his ill-acquired wealth that safety, which he cannot now procure by his flight : that the bull, baited with all the cruelties that human ingenuity or human malevolence can invent, was once some relentless tyrant, who had inflicted all
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the tortures which he now endures: that the poor bird, blinded, imprisoned, and at last starved to death in a cage, may have been some unforgiving creditor; and the widowed turtle, pining away life for the loss of her mate, some fashionable wife rejoicing at the death of her husband, which her own ill-usage had occasioned.

Never can the delicious repast of roasted lobsters excite my appetite, whilst the ideas of the tortures in which those innocent creatures have expired, present themselves to my imagination. But when I consider that they must have once probably been Spaniards at Mexico, or Dutchmen at Amboyna, I fall to, both with a good stomach and a good conscience, and please myself with the thoughts, that I am thus offering up a sacrifice acceptable to the manes of many millions of massacred Indians. Never can I repose myself with satisfaction in a post-chaise, whilst I look upon the starved, foundered, ulcerated, and excoriated animals, who draw it, as

mere horses, condemned to such exquisite and unmerited torments for my convenience ; but when I reflect, that they once must undoubtedly have existed in the characters of turnkeys of Newgate, or fathers of the holy inquisition, I gallop on with as much ease as expedition ; and am perfectly satisfied, that in pursuing my journey, I am but the executioner of the strictest justice.

I very well know that these sentiments will be treated as ludicrous by many of my readers, and looked upon only as the productions of an exuberant imagination ; but I know likewise, that this is owing to ill-grounded pride, and false notions of the dignity of human nature : for they are in themselves just and serious, and carry with them the strongest probability of their truth ; so strong is it, that I cannot but hope it will have some good effect on the conduct of those polite people, who are too sagacious, learned, and courageous to be kept in awe by the threats of hell
and

and damnation : and I exhort every fine lady to consider how wretched will be her condition, if after twenty or thirty years spent at cards, in elegant rooms, kept warm by good fires and soft carpets, she should at last be obliged to change places with one of her coach-horses ; and every fine gentleman to reflect how much more wretched would be his, if after wasting his estate, his health, and his life in extravagance, indolence, and luxury, he should again revive in the situation of one of his creditors.

T H E
W O R L D.
N U M B E R C L X X V I I I .

NOT long since, I met at St. James's coffee-house, an old acquaintance of mine, Sir Harry Prigg ; who having been long rusticated and much altered, I should never have recollected, had it not been for the information of a fine old coat, in which I remembered him to have made a figure about town many years ago. After the usual civilities had passed between us, amongst many other questions, he asked me when I had seen our old school-fellow, Sir John Jolly *. I answered, that I had last summer spent some days with him at

* See Number 153.

his

his country-seat, in a manner which would have been highly agreeable to a person of a more fashionable turn, but was to me rather fatiguing from its excess of gaiety and hospitality, which, according to my unpolite taste, were by no means consistent with the soft and serious pleasures of a rural retirement. He said, he perfectly agreed with me in my sentiments, and passed his time in the country in conformity to them : his manner of life, he was sure, would exactly suit me, and obligingly begged I would make the experiment ; adding, that he should go down in a few days, and would carry me with him in his chariot. I accepted his invitation, not so much out of inclination, as curiosity to see a new scene of country life, formed on principles so opposite to what I had before experienced, and promised to attend him at the time appointed.

But first it will be proper to give some account of the birth, parentage, and education of my friend. He came young to

his title, and a small estate, and was soon after sent to the university; where his title absurdly giving him the rank of nobility, and his estate, though small, an allowance sufficient to support that rank at that place, he there contracted an affectation of grandeur, and a pert kind of self-importance, which he has ever since retained, and which neither poverty nor solitude has yet been able to conquer. Having in two or three years acquired the usual advantages of that sort of education, such as the arts of sporting, toasting, billiards, and coachmanship, he came to London, entered into the gay world, and had address and qualifications sufficient to introduce himself into what he still calls the best company; that is, the company of smarts, bucks, jockeys, and gamesters. Nor was he deficient in point of gallantry; for he soon commenced an intrigue with the sister of one of these his friends. Whether his intentions were at first honourable, is not perfectly clear; but

but he was quickly obliged to declare them so, being acquainted, that a lady of her rank was not to be trifled with, and that he must either fight or marry; the latter of which he courageously chose, as being the most daring action of the two. This lady had more gentility than beauty, more beauty than understanding, more understanding than fortune, and a fortune about equal to her reputation. She was tall and well-shaped, carried her head very high, and being the younger daughter of the younger son of the first cousin of an Irish baron, looked upon herself as a woman of quality. In a little time Sir Harry heartily hated her for compelling him to marry: and she no less despised him for being compelled: so that finding little happiness at home, they were obliged to seek it abroad at plays and routs, operas and gaming tables, at no small expence. This could not continue long; so that before one winter was at an end, they discovered that the town air would not agree

agree with them, and so retired to their country seat, about forty miles from London; whither I shall now conduct my reader.

On the morning appointed, I attended early at their lodgings in town, where I found the post-chariot at the door, and my friend standing by it, with a long whip in his hand, ready to mount the box; saying at the same time, that coachmen were such insolent and expensive rascals, there was no keeping them, and that therefore he always chose to be his own. In the parlour sat my lady and Colonel Macsheat, a gentleman who had long been very intimate with Sir Harry, and not less so with her ladyship; and in the passage stood a French woman, in a sack and long ruffles, with her arms full of band-boxes and bundles; which were no sooner disposed of in various parts of the chariot, than my lady and myself, with her woman on a low stool at our feet, were stuffed into the little room that was left.

Sir

Sir Harry mounted the box, his valet de chambre rode by, and a sniveling footboy climbed up behind. Thus the whole family, with their baggage, and myself into the bargain, were conveyed without the expence of either a stage-coach or a wagon.

Nothing passed during our journey worth relating. Her ladyship spoke little, and that little was only complaints of her bad nerves, and ill state of health; to which, having no expectation of a fee, I paid little attention. They both declared, that nobody but a carrier would dine at an inn, wherefore they never stopped on the road; so with the assistance of a fresh pair of horses, that had come twenty miles that morning without a bait, about sunset we arrived at our journey's end. The Colonel got there before us, having rode post: for Sir Harry frequently declared to us both, that, though his friends were welcome, he never entertained their horses; that it was not the fashion of that country;

country ; neither my Lord **, nor the Duke of ***, nor himself did it.

It was not long before the dinner made its appearance ; which was so very genteel, that had it not been rendered uneatable by a bad affectation of French cookery, it would not have been half sufficient, after so many miles travelling, and so long fasting. At the conclusion we had meed, which passed for tokay, and elder wine, which Sir Harry swore was the best Burgundy in England, and that he himself had imported it, in conjunction with a noble lord in the neighbourhood. Over a glass of this, the cloth being removed, he informed us, “ that when the smoke
“ of London, and the bad hours incident
“ to keeping good company, would no
“ longer agree with his own or his wife’s
“ constitution, he had determined to seek
“ health and quiet in an elegant retirement. He had been offered indeed a
“ seat in parliament, and a considerable
“ employment ; but his crazy constitution
“ would

“ would not permit him to accept of the
 “ one, nor his sound principles of the
 “ other. Retirement was their object ;
 “ therefore all they dreaded was the hor-
 “ rible irruptions of a country neighbour-
 “ hood ; but this they had happily pre-
 “ vented. That indeed on their first
 “ coming, every family within ten miles
 “ round, tormented them with their im-
 “ pertinent visits ; but they returned none,
 “ affronted them all, and so got rid of
 “ them. Don’t you think we did right, my
 “ dear ?” turning to his wife. “ I think”
 answered she in a surly and dejected voice,
 “ that it is better to forget the use of
 “ one’s tongue, than to converse with
 “ squires wives, and parsons daughters.”
 “ You are right, madam,” added the Co-
 lonel, with an oath and a loud laugh ;
 “ for what can one learn in such a damned
 “ company ?” “ To-morrow,” says my
 friend, addressing himself to me, “ you
 “ shall see that we want no company, and
 “ that we can sufficiently amuse ourselves
 “ with

“ with building and planting, with im-
 “ provements and alterations, which I dare
 “ say will be honoured with your appro-
 “ bation.”

Accordingly the next morning, as soon as breakfast was finished, my lady and the Colonel retired into her dressing-room to cribbage, and Sir Harry and myself to reconnoitre the place. The house stands at the end of a dirty village, and close by it are a few tame deer, impounded in an orchard, to which he gives the pompous title of a park. Behind is a fen, which he calls a piece of water, and before it a goose-common, on which he bestows the name of a lawn. It was built in that deplorable æra of English architecture which introduced high doors, long windows, small rooms, and corner chimneys; and of gardening, which projected gravel walks, clipt yews, and strait-lined avenues, with a profusion of brick walls, iron palisado's and leaden images. But all these defects, and many others, he has
 now

now corrected by a judicious application of modern taste. His doors are so reduced, you cannot enter with your hat on; and his windows are so contracted, that you have scarce light enough to find it, if you pull it off. In the midst of the front, one large bow-window is stuck on, resembling a piece of whited brown paper plaistered on a broken nose; and a great room is added behind to dine in, which, was it ever inhabited, would make all the little ones appear still less: but having never yet been finished, for want both of cash and credit, it remains at present only a repository for broken china, a pair of backgammon tables, and children's playthings. His brick-walls are converted into chimneys and ovens, and his yew-trees supply them with faggots: his iron-work is sold to the blacksmiths, and his heathen gods to the plumber, for the pious use of covering the parish-church: his gravel walks are sown with grass; and he frequently repeats that frugal, yet gen-

teel maxim, that sheep are the best gardeners. His horse-pond being made serpentine, is become useless, lest it should be trod up; and his fences, being all Chinese, are no fences at all; the horses leaping over, and the hogs walking under them at their pleasure. The transplanted avenue is expiring in leafless platoons; the kitchen-garden, for conveniency, is removed two furlongs from the house; and the kitchen itself unjustly turned out of doors, for smelling of victuals; a crime of which it has ever been acquitted by the voice of the whole country.

When our survey was finished, our amusements were all at an end; for within doors the pleasures both of society and solitude were equally wanting. Of our conversation I have given a specimen; and books there were none, except a small one containing tunes for the French horn, belonging to Sir Harry, and the third volume of Peregrine Pickle, and a methodist prayer-book, the property of her ladyship.

I began now to wish for a little of my friend Sir John's hospitality, of which there was not here the least appearance. We heard not of a human creature, except by their injuries and insults, not altogether indeed unprovoked; for the pantry and the cellar, though usually empty, were always locked. Strong-beer there was none; and the small, though nobody at home could drink it, was not suffered to be given away. The servants were always out of humour, and frequently changing; and the tradesmen who brought their bills, were paid only by a wrangle, or a draught on some tenant who owed no rent. There was not a neighbour very near, except the parson of the parish, and Alderman Grub, a rich citizen, who had purchased a considerable part of it from Sir Harry. With these they lived in a state of perpetual hostilities: they quarrelled with the Alderman for presuming to buy an estate which they wanted to sell; and the parson quarrelled with them,

because he was in possession of the only living in the gift of Sir Harry, and the Alderman had a much better to dispose of. By the encouragement of these good neighbours, and their own ill conduct, consisting of a strange mixture of insolence and avarice, of meanness and magnificence, they were despised, persecuted, and affronted by all around them. Their pigs were worried, their poultry murdered, their dogs poisoned, their game destroyed, their hedges broke, and their hay-stacks set on fire. They were hissed and hooted at ; and now and then a great pair of horns were fixed on their gates ; an insult at which they were highly enraged, but the meaning of which neither Sir Harry, nor my lady, not even with the assistance of the Colonel, could ever guess at.

I soon grew weary of this land of contention and uneasiness ; and having recourse to the old excuse of urgent business, I took my leave, and went post to town ; reflecting all the way with surprise
on

on the ingenuity of mankind, to render themselves at once miserable and ridiculous; and lamenting that the happiness and innocence of rural life are now scarce any where to be found.

SHORT BUT SERIOUS
 R E A S O N S
 F O R A
 NATIONAL MILITIA.

Militia potior.

HOR.

WRITTEN IN THE YEAR 1757.

I N this age of levity and ridicule, it is extremely difficult to procure a serious attention to any proposal, however important, or however wisely calculated for the public benefit ; but sure if there ever was a proposition deserving attention from every true Englishman, it is this for the establishment of a National Militia, now under the consideration of the legislature ; on the success of which I sincerely think,

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that

that our glory abroad, our security at home, and our very being as a nation, entirely depend.

So manifest is the truth of this to the meanest and most absurd understandings, that I never met with one of that kind who has not been clearly convinced of it; to such therefore I shall not here address myself, but to the wise and sagacious only, many of whom, to my great surprize, I have found of a very different opinion: to these then I shall endeavour to prove, in as few words as possible, the truth of the following propositions:

1st, That such a militia may soon be rendered not at all inferior to our present regular forces.

2dly, That it will effectually secure our liberties, properties, and religion.

3dly, That it will strengthen the hands of government.

4thly, That it will reduce the price of our provisions and manufactures, and extend our trade.

5thly,

5thly, That it will increase the number of our people; and,

Lastly, That it may be carried into execution without any expence to the public.

First, then, I shall endeavour to prove that a militia may very soon be rendered not at all inferior to our present regular forces: and whoever will look back on the behaviour of these forces for some years past both by land and sea, will be convinced that this is no very arduous undertaking; nor be under any doubt, but that after a few days exercise they will behave as valiantly as our regiments at Falkirk, Preston Pans, or Oswego; or our fleets in the Mediterranean*. Nor

* Since the writing of this, the bravery and conduct of our regular forces, both by sea and land, in every quarter of the globe, have been so unexampled, that, notwithstanding the author's partiality for the Militia, he is candid enough to acknowledge, that he begins to have some small doubts, whether those corps may ever be able altogether to equal them.

can I indeed comprehend from whence their inferiority should proceed ; unless strong-beer should inspire less true courage than gin ; or being trained in a country church-yard, produce a less familiarity with death than performing the same exercise in the gay scenes of Hyde-Park or St. James's. If it be objected that they will be deficient in military knowledge and experience ; I answer, they will fight the better : the utility of these qualifications in the day of battle is a vulgar error, propagated like all others, for want of reasoning ; for all fighting being in its own nature contradictory to common sense, it can never be promoted by knowledge : military knowledge therefore can never be that sort of knowledge which enables men to fight ; but that which enables them to find out good reasons for not fighting ; or if they should be bad, to call in the assistance of councils of war and court-martials to make them better. Much less sure will experience induce
men

men to fight, unless we can believe that wounds and bruises, like coffee and tobacco, though disagreeable at first tasting, grow pleasant by frequent repetitions.

Secondly, That such a militia will secure our liberties, properties, and religion. The liberties we so justly value in this country are these, that every one may think and write, and say and do whatever he pleases; our properties comprehend all things of which we are in possession, by whatever means they have been acquired; these can certainly no way be so effectually secured to us as by the use of arms, by which we may at all times defend ourselves from the attacks of judges and juries, from writs and ejectments, from gaols and pillories, with all the tyranny of justices, and impertinence of constables, grievances not to be endured in a free country. As to our religion, a scheme of this kind must have most salutary effects, since a bill only for its establishment has already produced unanimity

nimity between our church divines and dissenters in one sensible and pious opinion* ; an event perhaps not easy to be remembered on any other occasion.

Thirdly, That it will strengthen the hands of government, which in this nation being, by the consent of all true patriots, allowed to be the sole right of the lowest of the people, or mob, with whom such patriots wonderfully agree in their political sentiments, what can effectually secure to them the dominion they now exercise over us, as putting arms into their hands, and teaching them how to use them ? This must certainly strengthen the hands of these our governors, and consequently of government itself.

Fourthly, It will reduce the price of our provisions and manufactures, and extend our trade ; because when the good people of England are thus armed and disciplined, they will be enabled to take away meat,

* In opposing that part of it which enacted, that the Militia should be exercised on Sundays.

corn, and malt, and all other provisions from forestallers and ingrossers, butchers, millers, and farmers, at a reasonable price, of which they themselves must always be the best and most impartial judges. When the price of provisions is thus happily reduced, that of our manufactures must inevitably fall in due proportion; and the reduction of these must as certainly carry more of them to foreign markets, and consequently extend our trade. The truth of this has been so often demonstrated by all writers on trade, and all whose trade is writing, that it is here needless to say any more on the subject.

Fifthly, That it will increase the number of our people: to be convinced of which, gentle reader, figure to thyself all the handsomest young fellows in every county, each armed like the hero in a romance, dressed, powdered, and toupeed by the reforming hand of a genteel serjeant; then turn thy eyes to the numerous groupe of fair spectators in Sunday gowns, and clean linen, who will not fail to attend

tend so tempting a show; then if thou hast not lost all feeling both mental and corporeal, thou canst not doubt but that so much valour on one side, and so much beauty on the other, will certainly produce much mutual affection, and that this will as infallibly be the cause of much procreation, and in a great measure repair the losses occasioned by our migrations to America, and the depredations of gin. If it be objected, that to balance this, many lives will be lost by the institution of these forces, by the accidental discharge of their firelocks, or the too valiant use of their swords in drunken quarrels; I answer, these accidents may sometimes happen; but, as on the most moderate computation, every one in these corps will probably beget three children before he kills one man, it cannot fail to increase the number of our people. Though this good effect of this truly national scheme has not, that I know of, been observed by any author, who has undertaken to recommend

mend it to the public, yet it has not escaped the quick-sighted eyes of our sagacious legislature*; who, on this very account, have this year voted a large sum to the Foundling Hospital, and propose to increase it still further as soon as these national forces begin to act in the service of their country.

Lastly, That it may be carried into execution without any expence to the public, and this by a method so extremely obvious, that it is surprising the wisdom of Parliament has not discovered it. The method I mean is no more than this : that as every man who attends on the days of exercise, and continues sober, is by the present bill to receive sixpence, I would have it further enacted, that every one who is drunk on those days, should pay the said sum of sixpence, to be applied towards the support of this national force, a very

* This sessions the parliament voted a much greater sum to the Foundling Hospital, than had ever been before thought on.

small penalty, sure, for so great a neglect of duty where the safety of his country is at stake. Now, whoever has been present at a fair, a sessions, a horse-race, an assizes, a cricket-match, or a visitation, or any other numerous meeting in the country, must know, that on the most enlarged computation, the number of sober cannot exceed the proportion of one in ten of those who are drunk; and there is no reason that I know of to suppose that the majority will be less on this occasion. If so, the public, we see, will receive nine times the sum every day that it will be required to pay, and consequently the remaining eight parts will amply supply these forces with arms, ammunition, cloaths, and accoutrements. But if this should not be found quite sufficient, considering how frequently they will probably be lost, a small matter laid on oaths, many of which they will readily learn, from the instructions of their serjeants, would easily supply all deficiencies; and

if the landed officers of these corps would submit to the same penalties, it would much increase the fund ; but as these gentlemen, who are to receive nothing for being sober, may think it hard to pay sixpence for being drunk, I would by no means insist on their being included, especially as I doubt not but the sum thus raised will be sufficient to defray all expences, and totally to indemnify the public revenues.

The objections made to this scheme are so frivolous and absurd, that they are by no means worthy of observation ; but of one or two I will just take notice. It is asserted, that gentlemen of estates in the country, will never submit to the duty of officers without pay ; but whoever considers how ready these gentlemen are, on all occasions, to execute the offices of justices of the peace, commissioners of taxes, and turnpikes ; how earnest to spend half their time, and all their estates, to acquire seats, and to attend their duty in
Parliament,

Parliament, from whence no possible advantage can accrue, must be satisfied that this is but an unjust suspicion, founded on no reason, and inconsistent with the true zeal which they have ever shewn in the cause of their country.

It is also apprehended, that many of these gentlemen, by indolence, corpulency, age, or gout, will be rendered incapable of fighting ; but the very reverse of this is certainly true, because these very infirmities will make it impossible for them to run away.

And now having demonstrated the truth of every one of my propositions beyond the power of all ministerial scribblers to disapprove, I shall conclude, by recommending this necessary scheme to the protection of all true lovers of their country, earnestly wishing, that nothing may prevent it from being put in execution as soon as possible : then, O Britain, O my country, will I congratulate thee on the consummation of thy prosperity,
and

and the happy period of all thy calamities. Long have thy true patriots wished to see thee engaged singly in a war with France, which, from thy natural superiority, must always be attended with glory and success: long hast thou groaned under the oppressions of mercenary allies abroad, and rapacious ministers at home: but at last the time, the happy time is arrived, when our wishes are all fulfilled, and our misfortunes wiped away; when we are in full possession of such a glorious war, without any allies, or any administration at all.

— *quod optanti nemo promittere Divum
Auderet,volvenda Dies en attulit ultro!*

T H O U G H T S
 O N T H E
 CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES
 O F T H E
 PRESENT HIGH PRICE OF
 P R O V I S I O N S.

*Privatus illis census erat brevis
 Commune magnum.*

T H E high price of provisions, and
 all the necessaries of life, is an evil
 so inconvenient to all conditions of men,
 and so intolerable to some, that it is not
 surprising that all should suffer it with
 much discontent, and many be drove by
 it into despair, or into riots, rapine, and
 all kinds of disorders. The latter, indeed,
 we cannot but expect, if we consider, that
 the enemies of all government and subor-
 dination,

dination, so numerous in this country, will not fail to avail themselves of this favourable opportunity, to spread universal dissatisfaction, and inflame the minds of the people to seek redress by such infamous and dangerous methods. This they endeavour, too successfully, to effect, by daily representing in the public papers, that this calamity arises from the artifices of monopolizers, regraters, forestallers, and engrossers, encouraged, or at least connived at, by ministers desirous of oppressing the people, and parliaments unattentive to their complaints. It is hard to say, whether the ignorance of these writers, or their malevolence, is superior ; or, whether the absurdity of their principles, or the mischief of them, is the greatest : but one may venture to affirm, that our people, notwithstanding the present scarcity, are still better fed than taught. This undoubtedly makes it necessary, at this time, that the true causes of this evil should be explained to them ; which, if it lessens
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not their wants, may in some measure abate their ill-founded indignation.

To this end I shall endeavour to shew, as concisely as possible, that the present high price of provisions arises principally from two sources; the increase of our national debts, and the increase of our riches; that is, from the poverty of the public, and the wealth of private individuals. From what causes these have been increased, and what have been the effects of that increase, shall be the subject of the few following pages.

It will surely be unnecessary to enquire into the causes of the late immense increase of our national debt; whoever remembers the many millions annually borrowed, funded, and expended, during the last war, can be under no difficulty to account for its increase. To pay interest for these new funds, new taxes were every year imposed, and additional burthens laid on every comfort, and almost every necessary of life, by former taxes, occasioned

by former wars, before sufficiently loaded. These must unavoidably increase the prices of them, and that in a much greater proportion than is usually understood: for a duty laid on any commodity does not only add the value of that duty to the price of that commodity, but the dealer in it must advance the price double or treble times that sum; for he must not only repay himself the original tax, but must have compensation for his losses in trade by bad debts, and loss of interest by his increased capital. Besides this, every new tax does not only affect the price of the commodity on which it is laid, but that of all others, whether taxed or not, and with which, at first sight, it seems to have no manner of connection. Thus, for instance, a tax on candles must raise the price of a coat, or a pair of breeches: because, out of these, all the taxes on the candles of the wool-comber, weaver, and the tailor, must be paid: a duty upon ale must raise the price of shoes; because from them

them all the taxes upon ale drank by the tanner, leather-dresser, and shoemaker, which is not a little, must be refunded. No tax is immediately laid upon corn, but the price of it must necessarily be advanced; because, out of that, all the innumerable taxes paid by the farmer on windows, soap, candles, malt, hops, leather, salt, and a thousand others, must be repaid: so that corn is as effectually taxed, as if a duty by the bushel had been primarily laid upon it; for taxes, like the various streams which form a general inundation, by whatever channels they separately find admission, unite at last, and overwhelm the whole. The man, therefore, who sold sand upon an ass, and raised the price of it during the late war, though abused for an imposition, most certainly acted upon right reasons; for, though there were no new taxes then imposed either on sand or asses, yet he found by experience, that, from the taxes laid on almost all other things, he could neither

maintain himself, his wife, or his asfs, as cheap as formerly; he was therefore under a necessity of advancing the price of his sand, out of which alone all the taxes which he paid must be refunded. Thus, I think it is evident beyond all doubt, that the increase of taxes must increase the price of every thing, whether taxed or not; and that this is one principal cause of the present extraordinary advance of provisions, and all the necessaries of life.

The other great source, from whence this calamity arises, is certainly our vast increase of riches; the causes and consequences of which, I will now briefly consider. That our riches are in fact amazingly increased within a few years, no one, who is in the least acquainted with this country, can entertain a doubt: whoever will cast his eyes on our public works, our roads, our bridges, our pavements, and our hospitals, the prodigious extension of our capital, and in some proportion that of every considerable town in Great-Britain; whoever

ever will look into the possessions and expences of individuals, their houses, furniture, tables equipages, parks, gardens, cloaths, plate, and jewels, will find every where round him sufficient marks to testify to the truth of this proposition. This great increase of private opulence is undoubtedly owing to the very same cause which increased our national debt ; that is, to the enormous expences and unparelled success of the late war ; and indeed very much arises from that very debt itself. Every million funded is in fact a new creation of so much wealth to individuals, both of principal and interest ; for the principal being easily transferable, operates exactly as so much cash ; and the interest, by enabling so many to consume the commodities on which taxes are laid for the payment of it, in a great measure, produces annually an income to discharge itself. Of all the enormous sums then expended, little besides the subsidies, granted to German Princes, was lost to the
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the individuals of this country, though the whole was irrecoverably alienated from the public ; all the rest annually returning into the pockets of the merchants, contractors, brokers, and stock-jobbers, enabled them to lend it again to the public on a new mortgage the following year. Every emission of paper credit by bank-notes, exchequer and navy bills, so long as they circulate, answers all the purposes of so much additional gold and silver as their value amounts to : if we add to these the immense riches daily flowing in since that period from our commerce, extended over every quarter of the globe, from the new channels of trade opened with America, and the amazing sums imported from the East Indies, it will not sure be difficult to account for the opulence of the present times, which has enabled men to increase their expences, and carry luxury to a pitch unknown to all former ages.

The effects of this vast and sudden increase

crease of riches, are no less evident than their cause: the first, and most obvious effect of the increase of money, is the decrease of its value, like that of all other commodities; for money being but a commodity, its value must be relative, that is, dependant on the quantity of itself, and the quantity of the things to be purchased with it. In every country where there is great plenty of provisions, and but little money, there provisions must be cheap, that is, a great deal of them will be exchanged for a little money: on the contrary, where there are but little provisions in proportion to the number of consumers, and a great plenty of money, or what passes for money, there they will inevitably be dear; that is, a great deal of money must be given to purchase them. These effects must eternally follow their causes in all ages and in all countries; and that they have done so, the history of all countries in all ages sufficiently informs us. The

value of money at the time of the Norman conquest, was near twenty times greater than at present ; and it has been gradually decreasing from that period, in proportion as our riches have increased : it has decreased not less than one-third during the present century ; and I believe one-half at least of that third since the commencement of the last war, which I doubt not, could it be exactly computed, would be found to be in due proportion to the increase of its quantity, either in real or fictitious cash ; and that the price of provisions is advanced in the same proportion, during the same period.

The increase of money does not only operate on the price of provisions by the diminution of its own value, but by enabling more people to purchase, and consequently to consume them ; which must unavoidably likewise increase their scarcity, and that must still add more to their price. Twenty rich families will consume ten times as much meat, bread, butter,

ter, soap, and candles, as twenty poor families consisting of the same number ; and the prices of all these must certainly rise in proportion to the demand. This effect of the increase of wealth in many countries of Europe, is very visible at this day, and in none more than in the northern parts of this island, who having of late acquired riches by the introduction of trade, manufactures, and tillage, can now well afford to eat roast beef, and therefore consume much of those cattle, with which they were formerly glad to supply us ; and will not part with the rest but at prices greatly advanced. The consumption of every thing is also amazingly increased from the increase of wealth in our metropolis, and indeed in every corner of this kingdom ; and the manner of living, throughout all ranks and conditions of men, is no less amazingly altered : the merchant who formerly thought himself fortunate, if in a course of thirty or forty years, by a large trade and strict œconomy,

my, he amassed together as many thousand pounds, now acquires in a quarter of that time double that sum, or breaks for a greater, and vies all the while with the first of our nobility, in his houses, table, furniture, and equipage : the shop-keeper, who used to be well contented with one dish of meat, one fire, and one maid, has now two or three times as many of each ; his wife has her tea, her card-parties, and her dressing-room ; and his prentice has climbed from the kitchen fire to the front boxes at the play-house. The lowest manufacturer and meanest mechanic will touch nothing but the very best pieces of meat, and the finest white bread ; and if he cannot obtain double the wages for being idle, to what he formerly received for working hard, he thinks he has a right to seek for a redress of his grievances, by riot and rebellion. Since then the value of our money is decreased by its quantity, our consumption increased by universal luxury, and the supplies which we used to receive

receive from poorer countries, now also grown rich, greatly diminished, the present exorbitant price of all the necessaries of life can be no wonder.

From what has been here offered, I think this may be readily accounted for, without having recourse to forestallers, regraters, engrossers, monopolizers, higglers, badgers, bounties, post-chaises, turnpike-roads, enlarging of farms, and the extension of the metropolis, with all that ridiculous catalogue of causes, which have been assigned by essay-writers to this evil, and frequently adopted by the absurdity of their readers. How far all or any of these have accidentally, collaterally, or locally contributed to augment the price of provisions, I cannot determine, nor do I think it of much importance to enquire ; because I am satisfied; whatever may have been their effects, they could have had none at all, had they not been assisted by the first and great cause, the increase of riches ; for no artifices of traders
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can make their commodities dear in a poor country; that is, sell things for a great deal of money, where there is little to be found. It seems therefore to no purpose, to search out for causes of the present high price of provisions, from facts, whose operations are uncertain, and reasons at best but speculative, when it is sufficiently accounted for from these two great principles, the increase of taxes, and the increase of riches, principles as absolutely indisputable, and as demonstrable as any mathematical problem.

I shall now make some cursory observations and short conclusions on the principles here advanced, which, allowing these to be true, can admit of no doubt. First then, although the price of provisions is at present very high, they cannot with propriety be said to be dear. Nothing is properly dear, except some commodity, which, either from real or fictitious scarcity, bears a higher price than other things in the same country, at the same time.

time. In the reign of Henry II. the value of money was about fifteen times greater than in the present age : a fowl then was sold for a penny, which cannot now be bought under fifteen pence ; but fowls are not for that reason dearer now, than they were at that time ; because one penny was then earned with as much labour, and when earned would fetch as much of every thing at market, as fifteen will in these days : was the value of money now as great, and the price of other things as small, as in these times, and provisions bore the same price as at present, they would then be dear indeed, and the pamphleteers would have good reason to impute their dearness to the frauds of engrossers and monopolizers ; but as the price of every thing besides, of houses, furniture, cloaths, horses, coaches, fees, perquisites, and votes, are all equally advanced ; nay, as every pamphlet, which used to be sold for one shilling, has now inscribed on its title-page, price eighteen-

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pence, their own works are a confutation of their arguments; for nonsense is a commodity in which there are too many dealers ever to suffer it to be monopolized or engrossed. It is certainly therefore improper to say that provisions are dear, but we should rather affirm, what is the real fact, that money is cheap; and if the complainants would use this expression instead of the other, and at the same time consider, that this arises from the success of our arms, and the extension of our trade, I am persuaded, that if they were not less distressed, they would certainly be less dissatisfied, and would, perhaps, by degrees, comprehend, that, in a country engaged in expensive wars and successful commerce, there must be heavy taxes, and great riches; and that where there are taxes and riches, there the prices of provisions, and all other things, must be high, in spite of all the efforts of ministers or parliaments, who ought by no means to be blamed, for not effecting impossibilities,

possibilities, and counteracting the nature of things.

Secondly, this cheapness of money in its consequences affects different conditions of men in a very different manner; to some it operates exactly in the same manner as real dearth and scarcity, at the same time that to others it gives considerable advantages. All those who subsist on settled stipends, must inevitably be ruined by it: merchants, and traders of all kinds, are greatly benefited; but the labourer and the land-owner are most grievously oppressed. Those who subsist on settled stipends must be ruined; because, if their incomes cannot be advanced in proportion to the decrease of the value of money, and the consequent increase of the prices of every thing, the same nominal sum which would afford affluence in one age, will not prevent starving in another; of which we have numerous examples in our schools, colleges, alms-houses, and other charitable fo-

tions. Merchants and traders are constantly gainers by it; because they can always raise the prices of whatever they deal in, faster than the value of money decreases: but the labourer, having nothing to subsist on but his daily work, must ever be behind hand in advancing the price of his labour; because he is not able to wait till it acquires its due proportion of value, and therefore by it he must suffer extremely. The land-owner likewise cannot raise his rents in any proportion to the fall of the value of money; because the charges of cultivation, the family-expences of the occupiers, and the maintenance of an increasing poor, all burthens inseparable from his land, must all rise in proportion to that fall; and these must perpetually retard his progress. The price of labour and of land must by degrees advance, as money decreases in value; but, as these are the last that will feel its effects, the labourer must, in the mean time, be miserably pinched, and the land-owner

owner dreadfully impoverished by it. This is not speculation, but a fact which is too well verified by experience at this time, through every part of this kingdom, where the labourer, with his utmost industry, cannot now procure a belly-full for himself and his family ; and, notwithstanding all the late improvements in agriculture, the very same estates in land which formerly maintained a large family in splendor and hospitality, can now scarce repair and pay window-tax for a spacious mansion-house, and supply the owner of it with the necessaries of life. When I hear a merchant, contractor, or broker calling out for war, arguing for new loans and new taxes, I wonder not, because I know that they are enriched by them, and I know also that they have sagacity enough to know it too : but when I hear a landed gentleman talk the same language, when I see him eager for war, which must involve him in new distresses, encouraging loans, whose interest he must pay, pleading

for taxes, which must lie an eternal mortgage upon his estate, exulting in acquisitions of territories and commerce, which must daily increase his expences, and diminish his income, and triumphing in victories which must undo him, I own I am surpris'd, but at the same time rejoice to find, that, in this enlightened age, there is ignorance still left amongst us, sufficient to produce so disinterested a patriot.

Lastly, from the foregoing premises one consequence evidently appears, which seems to have escaped the sagacity of our wisest politicians, which is, that a nation may, nay must inevitably be ruined, who every year increases her debts, notwithstanding her acquisitions by conquest or commerce bring in double or treble the sums which she is obliged to borrow : and this by a chain of causes and consequences, which the efforts of no human power or wisdom are able to disunite. New debts require new taxes ; and new
taxes

taxes must increase the price of provisions : new acquisitions of wealth, by decreasing the value of money, still aggravate this evil, and render them still dearer ; this dearness of provisions must augment the price of labour ; this must advance the price of all manufactures ; and this must destroy trade ; the destruction of trade must starve the poor, expel the manufacturers, and introduce universal bankruptcy, riot, and confusion. Artificers of all kinds will, by degrees, migrate into cheaper countries : the number of clergy, whose education must grow more expensive, and incomes less valuable, will be insufficient for parochial duty : the pay of navies and armies must be augmented, or they will no longer defend a country which cannot maintain them ; but rather themselves become her internal and most dangerous enemies.

From what has been here said, I think it plainly appears, that the present exorbitant price of provisions, and all the ne-

cessaries of life, chiefly arises from the increase of our taxes, and of our riches; that is, from public poverty and private opulence, the fatal disease which has put a period to all the greatest and most flourishing empires of the world: their destructive effects have been sufficiently known in all ages; but the remedy successfully to be applied to them, is yet a secret. No acquisition of foreign wealth can be effectual for this purpose: was our whole national debt to be at once paid off, by the introduction of all the treasures of the East, it would but accelerate our destruction; for such a vast and sudden influx of riches would so enhance our expences, and decrease the value of money, that we should at once be overwhelmed with luxury and want. The most concise method of cure would be to take superabundant wealth from individuals, and with it discharge the debts of the public; but here justice, liberty, and law, would obstruct our progress with insurmountable difficulties.

Whoever

Whoever therefore would attempt this salutary, but arduous undertaking, must not begin by extirpating engrossers and regraters, nor by destroying rats and sparrows, those great forestallers of the public markets; but by gradually paying off that debt, not only by œconomy, but by the most avaritious parsimony, and as far as possible, by narrowing those channels, through which riches have flowed in such torrents into the pockets of private men: he must be deaf to all mercantile application for opening new inlets of commerce at the public expence; he must boldly resist all propositions for settling new colonies upon parliamentary estimates; and most carefully avoid entering into new wars: in short, he must obstinately refuse to add one hundred thousand pounds to the national debt, though by that means millions could be introduced through the hands of individuals. How far these measures are practicable, or consistent with the honour, dignity, or even advantage of this

this country in other respects, I cannot determine ; but this I will venture to affirm, that by no others this calamity, so loudly and so justly at this time complained of, can ever be redressed.

By what has been here thrown out, I would by no means be understood to mean to discourage the legislature from enquiring into abuses, of which I doubt not but there are many, and applying to them the most efficacious and speedy remedies ; much less to disapprove the salutary measures they have already taken to redress this evil, the wisest, and perhaps the only ones which are practicable for that end. I propose only to lessen the unreasonable expectations many have formed of their success, and the indignation consequent from their disappointment ; and to stem a little those torrents of absurdities, with which one is overwhelmed in all companies both male and female. Every politician at a coffee-house has a nostrum for this disease, which he pronounces infallible ;

ble ; and abuses administration for not immediately adopting it. Projectors every day hold forth schemes unintelligible and impracticable ; for not executing which, government is arraigned ; the ignorant support them, the factious make use of them, and oppositions, knowing what it is to be hungry, pathetically bewail the miseries of the poor. The dowager at the quadrille-table inveighs loudly against the cruelty of parliament, for disregarding the voice of the people, and suffering provisions to continue at so exorbitant a price ; calls a king ; and if she happens to be beasted, grows more outrageous against the ministry ; while the silent old general, her unfortunate partner, in three sentences recommends military execution on all butchers, bakers, poulterers, and fishmongers, as the most equitable and most effectual remedy. Were these impertinences productive of no mischief, they would be only ridiculous, and unworthy of a serious confutation ; but as

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Hæ nugæ seria ducunt

In mala ;

as they tend to deceive, to disappoint, and to exasperate the minds of the vulgar, and to leave those of their betters discontented, and dissatisfied with government ; whatever shall explain the true and fundamental causes of this calamity to the people, and give some check to the nonsense, which is every where wrote, talked, and propagated on this subject, is an attempt, which may render great and important service both to the social and the political world.

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THE
OBJECTIONS
TO THE
TAXATION
OF OUR
AMERICAN COLONIES,
BY THE
LEGISLATURE OF GREAT BRITAIN,
BRIEFLY CONSIDERED.
WRITTEN IN THE YEAR 1765.

THE right of the legislature of Great Britain to impose taxes on her American colonies, and the expediency of exerting that right in the present conjuncture, are propositions so indisputably clear, that I should never have thought it necessary to have undertaken their defence, had not many arguments been lately flung out, both

both in papers and conversation, which with insolence equal to their absurdity deny them both. As these are usually mixt up with several patriotic and favourite words, such as Liberty, Property, Englishmen, &c. which are apt to make strong impressions on that more numerous part of mankind, who have ears but no understanding, it will not, I think, be improper to give them some answers: to this therefore I shall singly confine myself, and do it in as few words as possible, being sensible that the fewest will give least trouble to myself, and probably most information to my reader.

The great capital argument, which I find on this subject, and which, like an elephant at the head of a Nabob's army, being once overthrown, must put the whole into confusion, is this: that no Englishman is, or can be taxed, but by his own consent: by which must be meant one of these three propositions; either that no Englishman can be taxed without
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his own consent as an individual ; or that no Englishman can be taxed without the consent of the persons he chuses to represent him ; or that no Englishman can be taxed without the consent of the majority of all those, who are elected by himself and others of his fellow-subjects to represent them. Now let us impartially consider, whether any one of these propositions are in fact true : if not, then this wonderful structure which has been erected upon them, falls at once to the ground, and like another Babel, perishes by a confusion of words, which the builders themselves are unable to understand.

First then, that no Englishman is or can be taxed but by his own consent as an individual : this is so far from being true, that it is the very reverse of truth ; for no man that I know of is taxed by his own consent ; and an Englishman, I believe, is as little likely to be so taxed, as any man in the world.

Secondly, that no Englishman is, or

can be taxed, but by the consent of those persons, whom he has chose to represent him; for the truth of this I shall appeal only to the candid representatives of those unfortunate counties which produce cyder, and shall willingly acquiesce under their determination.

Lastly, that no Englishman is, or can be taxed, without the consent of the majority of those, who are elected by himself, and others of his fellow-subjects, to represent them. This is certainly as false as the other two; for every Englishman is taxed, and not one in twenty represented: copyholders, leaseholders, and all men possessed of personal property only, chuse no representatives: Manchester, Birmingham, and many more of our richest and most flourishing trading towns send no members to parliament, consequently cannot consent by their representatives, because they chuse none to represent them; yet are they not Englishmen? or are they not taxed?

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I am well aware, that I shall hear Locke, Sidney, Selden, and many other great names quoted, to prove that every Englishman, whether he has a right to vote for a representative or not, is still represented in the British parliament; in which opinion they all agree: on what principle of common sense this opinion is founded I comprehend not, but on the authority of such respectable names I shall acknowledge its truth; but then I will ask one question, and on that I will rest the whole merits of the cause: Why does not this imaginary representation extend to America, as well as over the whole island of Great Britain? If it can travel three hundred miles, why not three thousand? if it can jump over rivers and mountains, why cannot it sail over the ocean? If the towns of Manchester and Birmingham sending no representatives to parliament, are notwithstanding there represented, why are not the cities of Albany and Boston equally represented in that assembly? Are they not alike British subjects? are they

not Englishmen? or are they only Englishmen when they solicit for protection, but not Englishmen when taxes are required to enable this country to protect them?

But it is urged, that the colonies are by their charters placed under distinct Governments, each of which has a legislative power within itself, by which alone it ought to be taxed; that if this privilege is once given up, that liberty which every Englishman has a right to, is torn from them, they are all slaves, and all is lost.

The liberty of an Englishman is a phrase of so various a signification, having within these few years been used as a synonymous term for blasphemy, bawdy, treason, libels, strong beer, and cyder, that I shall not here presume to define its meaning; but I shall venture to assert what it cannot mean; that is, an exemption from taxes imposed by the authority of the parliament of Great Britain; nor is there any charter, that ever pretended to grant such a privilege to any colony in America;

and had they granted it, it could have had no force : their charters being derived from the crown, and no charter from the crown can possibly supersede the right of the whole legislature : their charters are undoubtedly no more than those of all corporations, which empower them to make bye laws, and raise duties for the purposes of their own police, for ever subject to the superior authority of parliament ; and in some of their charters, the manner of exercising these powers is specified in these express words, “ according to the course of other corporations in Great Britain : ” and therefore they can have no more pretence to plead an exemption from this parliamentary authority, than any other corporation in England.

It has been moreover alledged, that, though parliament may have power to impose taxes on the colonies, they have no right to use it, because it would be an unjust tax ; and no supreme or legislative power can have a right to enact any law

in its nature unjust : to this, I shall only make this short reply, that if Parliament can impose no taxes but what are equitable, and the persons taxed are to be the judges of that equity, they will in effect have no power to lay any tax at all. No tax can be imposed exactly equal on all ; and if it is not equal, it cannot be just ; and if it is not just, no power whatever can impose it ; by which short syllogism, all taxation is at an end ; but why it should not be used by Englishmen on this side the Atlantic, as well as by those on the other, I do not comprehend.

Thus much for the right. Let us now a little enquire into the expediency of this measure ; to which two objections have been made ; that the time is improper, and the manner wrong.

As to the first, can any time be more proper to require some assistance from our colonies, to preserve to themselves their present safety, than when this country is almost undone by procuring it ? Can any
time

time be more proper to impose some tax upon their trade, than when they are enabled to rival us in our manufactures, by the encouragement and protection which we have given them? Can any time be more proper to oblige them to settle handsome incomes on their governors, than when we find them unable to procure subsistence on any other terms than those of breaking all their instructions, and betraying the rights of their sovereign? Can there be a more proper time to compel them to fix certain salaries on their judges, than when we see them so dependent on the humours of their assemblies, that they can obtain a livelihood no longer than *quam diu se male gesserint*? Can there be a more proper time to force them to maintain an army at their expence, than when that army is necessary for their own protection, and we are utterly unable to support it? Lastly, can there be a more proper time for this mother country to leave off feeding out of her own vitals,

these children whom she has nursed up, than when they are arrived at such strength and maturity as to be well able to provide for themselves, and ought rather with filial duty to give some assistance to her distresses.

As to the manner; that is, the imposing taxes on the colonies by the authority of parliament, it is said to be harsh and arbitrary; and that it would have been more consistent with justice, at least with maternal tenderness, for administration here to have settled quotas on each of the colonies, and have then transmitted them with injunctions, that the sums allotted should be immediately raised by their respective legislatures, on the penalty of their being imposed by parliament, in case of their non-compliance? But was this to be done, what would be the consequence? Have their assemblies shewn so much obedience to the orders of the Crown, that we could reasonably expect that they would immediately tax themselves

felves on the arbitrary command of a minister ? Would it be possible here to settle those quotas with justice, or would any one of the colonies submit to them, were they ever so just ? Should we not be compared to those Roman tyrants, who used to send orders to their subjects to murder themselves within so many hours, most obligingly leaving the method to their own choice, but on their disobedience threatening a more severe fate from the hands of an executioner ? And should we not receive votes, speeches, resolutions, petitions, and remonstrances in abundance, instead of taxes ? In short, we either have a right to tax the colonies, or we have not : if parliament is possessed of this right, why should it be exercised with more delicacy in America, than it has ever been even in Great Britain itself ? If on the other hand, they have no such right, sure it is below the dignity as well as justice of the legislature, to intimidate the colonies

with vain threats, which they have really no right to put in execution.

One method indeed has been hinted at, and but one, that might render the exercise of this power in a British parliament just and legal, which is the introduction of representatives from the several colonies into that body ; but as this has never seriously been proposed, I shall not here consider the impracticability of this method, nor the effects of it, if it could be practised ; but only say, that I have lately seen so many specimens of the great powers of speech, of which these American gentlemen are possessed, that I should be much afraid, that the sudden importation of so much eloquence at once, would greatly endanger the safety and government of this country ; or in terms more fashionable, though less understood, this our most excellent constitution. If we can avail ourselves of these taxes on no other condition, I shall never look upon
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it as a measure of frugality ; being perfectly satisfied, that in the end, it will be much cheaper for us to pay their army, than their orators.

I cannot omit taking notice of one prudential reason, which I have heard frequently urged against this taxation of the colonies, which is this : that if they are by this means impoverished, they will be unable to purchase our manufactures, and consequently we shall lose that trade, from which the principal benefit which we receive from them must arise. But surely, it requires but little sagacity to see the weakness of this argument ; for should the colonies raise taxes for the purposes of their own government and protection, would the money so raised be immediately annihilated ? What some pay, would not others receive ? Would not those who so receive it, stand in need of as many of our manufactures as those who pay ? Was the army there maintained at the expence of the Americans, would the soldiers want fewer

fewer coats, hats, shirts, or shoes, than at present? Had the judges salaries ascertained to them, would they not have occasion for as costly periwigs, or robes of as expensive scarlet, as marks of their legal abilities, as they now wear in their present state of dependency? Or had their governors better incomes settled on them for observing their instructions, than they can now with difficulty obtain for disobeying them, would they expend less money in their several governments, or bring home at their return less riches, to lay out in the manufactories of their native country?

It has been likewise asserted, that every shilling which our colonies can raise either by cultivation or commerce, finally centers in this country; and therefore it is argued, we can acquire nothing by their taxation, since we can have no more than their all; and whether this comes in by taxes or by trade, the consequence is the same. But allowing this assertion to be true, which it is not, yet the reasoning
upon

upon it is glaringly false : for surely it is not the same, whether the wealth derived from these colonies flows immediately into the coffers of the public, or into the pockets of individuals, from whence it must be squeezed by various domestic taxes before it can be rendered of any service to the nation : surely it is by no means the same, whether this money brought in by taxes enables us to diminish part of that enormous debt contracted by the last expensive war, or whether coming in by trade it enables the merchant, by augmenting his influence together with his wealth, to plunge us into new wars and new debts for his private advantage.

From what has been here said, I think that not only the right of the legislature of Great Britain to impose taxes on her Colonies, not only the expediency, but the absolute necessity of exercising that right in the present conjuncture, has been so clearly, though concisely proved, that it is to be hoped that in this great and important

portant question, all parties and factions, or, in the more polite and fashionable term, all connections will most cordially unite; that every member of the British Parliament, whether in or out of humour with administration, whether he has been turned out because he has opposed, or whether he opposes because he has been turned out, will endeavour to the utmost of his power to support this measure. A measure which must not only be approved by every man, who has any property or common sense, but which ought to be required by every English subject of an English administration.

REFLEC-

R E F L E C T I O N S

O N

S E V E R A L S U B J E C T S.

ALL foolish people are wise enough to be soon tired of their own company ; and therefore impatient of solitude, perpetually impose it upon their unfortunate acquaintance.

Those who are extremely civil, are seldom sociable ; because they receive more trouble, than entertainment from company.

That men usually grow more covetous as they grow older, does not so much proceed from the increase of their affection for wealth, as from the decrease of their inclinations for any thing beside : their regard for money continues the same, but

but they meet with fewer temptations to part with it; their love of pleasures is lessened by satiety, their ambition by disappointments, their prodigality by experience, and their generosity by ingratitude.

Every year, as we grow older, appears shorter than the preceding, and the reason of it is this; all our ideas of time must be derived from that portion of it, in which we have already existed, and that must be the standard by which we measure it; as this standard therefore extends itself by our living longer, so every period must appear shorter in proportion to it: thus when we have lived ten years, one year is the tenth part of the duration of our whole existence; but when we have lived eighty, it is then but the eightieth part of the same term.

Honour is but a fictitious kind of honesty: a mean, but a necessary substitute for it in societies, who have none: it is a sort of paper credit, with which men are obliged

obliged to trade, who are deficient in the sterling cash of true morality and religion.

Women are certainly not at all inferior to men in resolution, and perhaps much less in courage, than is commonly imagined: the reason they appear so is, because women affect to be more afraid, than they really are, and men pretend to be less.

Men's opinions much oftener proceed from their actions, than their actions from their opinions: they act first, and then with great facility reconcile their principles to their conduct; for which reason we find many, whom no advantage can induce to do any thing, which appears to them wrong; but of that many, very few, who can ever be convinced that any thing is wrong, from whence either pleasure or profit accrues to themselves.

Were all men honest, the world would go on much more happily than it does at present; but were all men wise, it would

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not go on at all : so greatly preferable is honesty to understanding.

As a man of sense can usually out-wit a fool, because his designs are inconceivable to his adversary's understanding ; so a fool will sometimes be too cunning for a wise man, for the very same reason ; that is, because he will conceive schemes, which could never enter into a wiser head than his own. Counter-plotting an absurd fellow is like fighting a left handed fencer ; you receive a wound, because it comes in a direction from whence you had no reason to expect it, and he gains a victory merely by his awkwardness.

Much spirit and little sense are the worst ingredients of which a human creature can be composed ; he, who has much spirit and much understanding, will probably make a great and illustrious character : he, who has little spirit and little sense, may prove an honest, useful, and happy man : but he, who is so unfortunate
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as to have a great deal of spirit; and a small share of understanding, must ever be mischievous to others, and miserable in himself.

Contempt among mankind, like action and re-action in solid bodies, is always reciprocal and equal ; whoever despises his company, may be assured, that he is not less despised by them : a wise man is just as much despised amongst fools, as a fool amongst wise men : whores and gamesters are not more contemptible in the eyes of others, than all others are in theirs, who are not of their own genteel fraternity.

Our resentment and attachments are commonly the principal obstacles which retard us in our progress to wealth and greatness : he, who can totally exonerate himself of these two grand impediments, the remembrance of past injuries, and gratitude for past benefactions, can hardly fail of travelling through the dirty roads of business and ambition, with great alacrity and success.

Those, who live idly on hereditary fortunes, are apt to look with much envy on the wealth and affluence enjoyed by men in professions, and with no less indignation on the unjust means, by which, in most professions, they are acquired : but they ought to consider, that to these very means, unjust as they are, they themselves are indebted for the security of their own lives, liberties, and estates ; for such is the nature of mankind, that if, in their general struggle for wealth and power, they cannot succeed by art, they will infallibly make use of force ; that is, if they are not indulged in some ingenious, learned, and legal methods of politely preying on each other, they will quickly have recourse to fire and sword.

He, who will not be cheated a little, will be abused a great deal, and by that means suffer no less in his fortune, than in his reputation : our first lesson, therefore, in the art of œconomy, should ever be to learn how to permit ourselves to be properly

perly imposed on, in due proportion to our situation and circumstances.

No two qualities in the human mind are more essentially different, though often confounded, than pride, and vanity : the proud man entertains the highest opinion of himself ; the vain man strives only to infuse such an opinion into the minds of others ; the proud man thinks admiration his due ; the vain man is satisfied if he can but obtain it : pride by stateliness demands respect ; vanity by little artifices solicits applause : pride, therefore, makes men disagreeable, and vanity ridiculous.

Whoever appears to have a great deal of cunning, must, in reality, have but very little ; for if he had much, he would have enough to conceal it.

The vice of ingratitude cannot be so frequent as it is usually represented ; because the instances of real and disinterested obligations, from whence alone it can proceed, are very rare.

• Applause is more frequently acquired

by profuseness, than by charity; that is, by suffering ourselves to be imposed on, than by bestowing our money on proper objects: because those who over-reach us, look upon their acquisitions as the just reward of their own superior abilities, and are therefore not unwilling to publish them; whereas, those who receive our donations, feel the weight of obligations, always implying an inferiority, which men little care to remember, and less to talk of.

Painters of human nature, like those of human faces, are of two sorts; the one give us beautiful pictures, but without the least resemblance of those who sit for them; the other draw strong likenesses, but for the most part something uglier than the originals.

Whoever would deceive the multitude, let him not despair of persuading them to believe any one thing in the world except truth.

Advice is seldom well received, well intended,

tended, or productive of any good : it is seldom well received, because it implies a superiority of judgment in the giver ; and it is seldom intended for any other end, than to shew it : it is seldom of any service to the giver, because it more frequently makes him an enemy, than a friend ; and as seldom to the receiver, because, if he is not wise enough to act properly without it, he will scarcely be wise enough to distinguish that which is good.

He, who will not change his principles, will find himself, in a little time, under a necessity to change his party.

Liberty is a fine-sounding word ; but most of those who use it, mean nothing more by it than a liberty to oppress others, themselves uncontrouled by any superior authority.

As property always produces power, so power is always convertible into property : therefore it is demonstrable, that the corruption of parliaments must ever increase with the increase of their power, and can be

lessened only by the diminution of their importance. How absurd, therefore, are those, who labour at the same time to increase liberty, and to destroy corruption; that is, who endeavour to give the people more power to carry to market, and at the same time to hinder them from selling it?

The chief business of a government is like that of a nurse, to hinder those who are under its care from doing mischief to themselves; of which they are in perpetual pursuit, and perpetually angry with those who endeavour to prevent them.

We need not travel far over the world, to acquire a sufficient knowledge of human nature and human government: by sagacity and observation it may be easily learned within the narrow limits of a single parish, the meanest vestry being actuated by the same principles, and managed by the same arts, as the most holy synod, or the most august senate: the conduct of the drama is nearly the same; the difference

rence lies only in the address and dignity of the actors.

There is, undoubtedly, great difference in the wisdom and honesty of particular men, but very little in those of large numbers in the same situation and circumstances; as individual grains of corn may differ much in size and weight, but two bushels taken out of the same heap, will certainly be nearly similar.

It seems a fundamental principle of modern politics, that every means that can bring wealth into a nation, must add just so much to its happiness, prosperity, and duration; but this is no more true, than that every single person is happy, healthy, and long-lived, in proportion to his riches.

It is often asserted, that the landed and trading interest of a nation must ever be inseparable; and each of them assure us, that their own is the interest of the public: but all these propositions are fallacious; there are few instances in which the landed

and trading interests coincide; in most they are diametrically opposite; nor are either, or both of them, always the interest of the public; whose true interest is only to keep them from destroying each other, and involving herself in dangers and expences.

The landed interest of this nation, like the silly and defenceless sheep, in silence offers its throat to the butchery of every administration, and is eat up by every ravenous profession; while the trading interest, like the hungry and unmannerly hog, devours every thing, and if a finger is but laid upon it, the whole country is distracted with the outcry.

It is not a little surprising, that mankind have in all times so much delighted in war, and that notwithstanding all the miseries it has brought upon them, they should still continue to rush into it with as much alacrity as ever; the true, though secret reason of which, is certainly this: there is implanted in human nature, corrupt as it
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is, so strong an approbation of virtue, that however determined men are to indulge their evil inclinations, they never enjoy them with any satisfaction, unless they can find out some means of hiding their deformities, not only from the eyes of others, but even from their own, and they are therefore extremely fond of every expedient that can assist them in this favourable self-deception, and procure them leave to be wicked with a good character, and a good conscience: now war is of all others the most effectual for this purpose; as it grants us a plenary indulgence for every vicious disposition in the human mind exempted from all punishment, or even censure, as well as from all reluctance and remorse: it so dresses up idleness and profligacy, malevolence and revenge, cruelty and injustice, in the amiable habit of zeal for the glory and prosperity of our country, that we can give a loose to them all, not only with the applause of the world, but with the sincere approbation

tion of our own hearts ; and of such high estimation is this privilege, that we think it a sufficient recompence for all the miseries and desolation, which the mutual exercise of it cannot fail to introduce.

Men's zeal for religion is much of the same kind as that which they shew for a foot-ball : whenever it is contested for, every one is ready to venture their lives and limbs in the dispute ; but, when that is once at an end, it is no more thought on, but sleeps in oblivion, buried in rubbish, which no one thinks it worth his pains to rake into, much less to remove.

In religious quarrels, the propositions in dispute are generally such as those who impose them cannot believe, and those who reject them cannot understand : and therefore no one is persecuted for not believing, but for not professing to believe, when they do not ; that is, for insolently presuming to be either wiser, or honest than their persecutors ; an affront, which the strongest side always extremely re-

sents, and severely punishes, under the terrible denomination of obstinate heresy.

The true scriptural meaning of the word Faith, seems nothing more, than a docility or promptitude to receive truth, and of Christian Faith, to believe the divine authority of that religion, and to obey it's precepts : in this sense surely too much merit can never be imputed to it ; but since this denomination has been so undetermined, that no two ages, nations, or sects, have affixed to it the same ideas, and so abused, that under it every absurdity, that knavery could cram down, or ignorance swallow, have been comprehended ; since it is still capable of being so explained, as to mean any thing that an artful preacher pleases to impose on an illiterate audience, the laying too great a stress upon it must be highly dangerous to the religion and liberties of mankind : but the proposing it as a composition for moral duties is of all others the most mischievous doctrine ; as it unhinges
all

all our notions of divine justice, and establishes wickedness upon a principle; and it is the more mischievous, as it cannot fail of being popular, because, as it is usually inculcated, it is in fact nothing more than offering to the people a licence to be profligate, at the easy price of being absurd; a bargain, which they will ever readily agree to.

Mankind live all in masquerade: he, therefore, who mixes with them unmasked is always ill received, and commonly abused by the whole assembly.

As man is the only risible animal, so is he the only ridiculous one, except a monkey, which is no farther ridiculous than it resembles him.

In all controversies one may observe those always adhere most obstinately to their opinions, who are incapable of understanding the subject of the dispute; and this, I think, might naturally be expected; because those, who have assented to propositions without any reason, can possibly

possibly have no reason for doubting of their truth.

He who exercises no trade or profession is imposed on by every one, without any power of making reprisals: he is like a man in the pillory, pelted by all without being able to return it: he has but one chance, which few men's situation or abilities will admit of which is that of retaliating upon the public.

There is in every country a certain characteristic of taste, which, during the same period of time, affects all arts, sciences, and professions, in a similar manner, though perhaps not easy to be expressed: that which prevails with us at present, is an affectation of something superior to nature and truth; of all that excites our admiration, rather than of what satisfies our judgment; the very same extravaganzas run through all our arts, manners, and diversions, to the utter neglect of all true beauty, simplicity, and usefulness: thus our architecture is
disgraced

disgraced with the tawdry deformities of Chinese ornaments; our music has exchanged her harmony and pathos for the tricks of jugglers, and our dancing her dignity and graces for tumbling and grimace; our tables are filled with uneatable monsters of our own creation, our stages with an unintelligible jumble of harlequins and heathen deities, and our poetry, like a carver's shop, is crowded with unmeaning ornaments, without any place to which they can with propriety be adapted; our politics soar into impracticable speculation, and our religion runs up into methodism and madness.

Lies, by being a long while repeated, and circulated through many hands, acquire so much authority, that at length they pass for truth without any further inquiry: time and repetition have the very same effect upon nonsense.

A lie sent out into the world, like a bomb discharged amongst a crowd, bursts into innumerable pieces, every one of which

which carries mischief with it in its flight.

Learning and liberty are excellent things ; but, like tea and brandy, they are extremely pernicious in the hands of the vulgar, from the mischievous use which they are sure to make of them.

One of the most prevailing principles at present is, to trust no administration with any power whatever ; yet, to expect of every administration, that they should perform things, which, without the most arbitrary power, are utterly impracticable.

Nothing so much manifests, as well as augments the weakness of a state, as being obliged to admit men into power by the force of faction and opposition to power ; because this continually incites more faction, and more opposition for the sake of power, and at the same time incapacitates all who thus acquire it to exercise or retain it ; every succeeding opposition grow stronger by experience in the
arts

arts of distressing, and every administration weaker from inexperience in the arts of governing; for opposition is the most unpromising school in which a minister can receive his education; it being as unlikely that a man should learn the science of government by the practice of disturbing it, as that he should acquire the skill of an architect by pulling down houses, or the trade of a glazier by breaking of windows.

All administration of government must be unpopular from the nature and essence of government itself; for the nature and essence of all government is nothing more than a compulsion of individuals to act in such a manner for the support of society, as they are neither wise nor honest enough to do from the suggestions of their own heads and hearts; this compulsion, therefore, must be contrary to both their judgments and inclinations, and consequently unpopular; and for the same reason always more unpopular in proportion

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to the vigour and wisdom with which it is exercised.

An able, honest, and wise minister, by various particular circumstances, may be popular for a time; but he is not very wise if he imagines that his popularity proceeds from any of these qualifications.

The situation of a minister, who rises to the summit of power on the wings of popularity, is no more to be envied than that of a cat who is carried up to the clouds at the tail of a paper kite: whilst it lasts, it is all but scrambling and giddiness; and on the first change of the wind, or breach of the pack-thread, down he tumbles.

It is a certain though a strange truth, that in politics almost all principles that are speculatively right are practically wrong: the reason of which is, that they proceed on a supposition that men act rationally; which being by no means true, all that is built on so false a foundation, on experiment falls to the ground.

One of these false principles, amongst a thousand which we hear daily asserted for truth, is this, that those who are possessed of most property will fight best in its defence : this appears to be true, because it would be true if men fought from rational motives ; but as they do not it is just the reverse of truth, as the history of all ages and nations sufficiently testifies, in which we see that all poor countries, that is those who have least property, have always been most valiant, and most successful in war ; and, in rich countries, property has been ever best defended by those who have none.

Another principle of the same kind is, that national business would be most happily transacted by parliaments totally independent : this too in speculation has the appearance of truth, but in experience none of the reality ; because the supposition on which it is founded is utterly false, which is, that the individuals of such parliaments, uninfluenced by all self-interest,

rest, and the connections proceeding from it, would be directed by their judgments to chuse the most salutary measures, and bound by their consciences to pursue them; whereas, in fact, the majority of numerous assemblies have neither judgments to distinguish right, nor consciences to tie them to the pursuit of it; and if uninfluenced by all real or imaginary interest, will infallibly do mischief, or nothing at all.

There are many who are equally zealous for the destruction of all prerogative as well as parliamentary influence; which, though extremely absurd, is not inconsistent with the principles of modern patriotism, the fundamentals of which are, that all government is an imposition of the few upon the many, which they ought perpetually to endeavour to shake off, and that the people ought to be governed by themselves only, that is, in other words, not to be governed at all.

The meanest abilities may easily, by

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inflaming

inflaming factions, reduce a government to so weak and ruinous a condition, that the most consummate wisdom cannot restore it to vigour and tranquillity ; as a fool or a mad-man, with a farthing candle, may cause such a conflagration in a city that the wisest of its inhabitants may be unable to extinguish.

If any one fancies that a people can be governed without force or corruption, merely by pursuing right measures, as we hear frequently advanced by men totally ignorant of human nature and human business, let him make the experiment in a single parish, and if there, without compulsion, power, influence, or gratuity, solely by the strength of reason and motives of public utility, he can persuade the inhabitants to submit to equal and necessary taxes, to repair their roads, erect bridges, inclose commons, drain marshes, and employ their poor, or perform any other works of general and mutual advantage ; I say, if he can accomplish this, let

let him retain his opinion ; but if he finds it utterly impracticable, let him not expect that it can ever be done in a whole nation, in which there are so many factions, interests, and absurdities to contend with.

Political authors, of all others, have the least understood their subject ; which is not surprising, since authors are generally speculative men, and all knowledge of this kind entirely practical ; wherefore he who has studied Aristotle and Plato, Grotius and Puffendorff, in his closet, will be less acquainted with the arts of governing than the meanest attorney, or the lowest alderman of the lowest corporation : these may probably make no small proficiency in the science ; for all human business is miserably similar ; the most august senate being actuated by the same principles, and managed by the same arts as the most contemptible parish vestry ; the plot and conduct of the drama is much the

same, the difference lies only in the address and dignity of the actors.

Nations, like armies, have ever been governed by watch words, given out by their leaders for the use of the day: church and state, liberty and property, trade and navigation, have all had their turns here, and done their business, without having had any meaning, or at least without any that was understood by those who most loudly and frequently repeated them.

If you can convince a great man that you are attached to him by past services, he will serve you again; but if you can persuade him that he is obliged to you, he will in all probability see you no more.

Man should ever look upon himself as that center link of an immense chain of subordinate beings which ties the animal and rational parts of it together: from this consideration he would receive much and material knowledge concerning the
duties

duties of his station ; he would learn how he ought to behave himself to those inferior animals that are dependent on him, and what he may expect from superior beings, on whom he is probably no less dependent himself.

What name should we bestow on a superior being, whose whole existence was employed, and whose sole pleasure consisted in terrifying, insnaring, tormenting, and destroying mankind ? who promoted their propagation merely to acquire more objects of persecution, and preserved their lives only to prolong their miseries ; whose superior talents were exerted solely in fomenting hostilities among them, in contriving and furnishing them with destructive weapons, and in teaching and encouraging them to use them in robbing and murdering each other ; whose power was employed in assisting the rapacious, deceiving the simple, and oppressing the innocent ; who, day after day, without pity or remorse, without advantage or provoca-

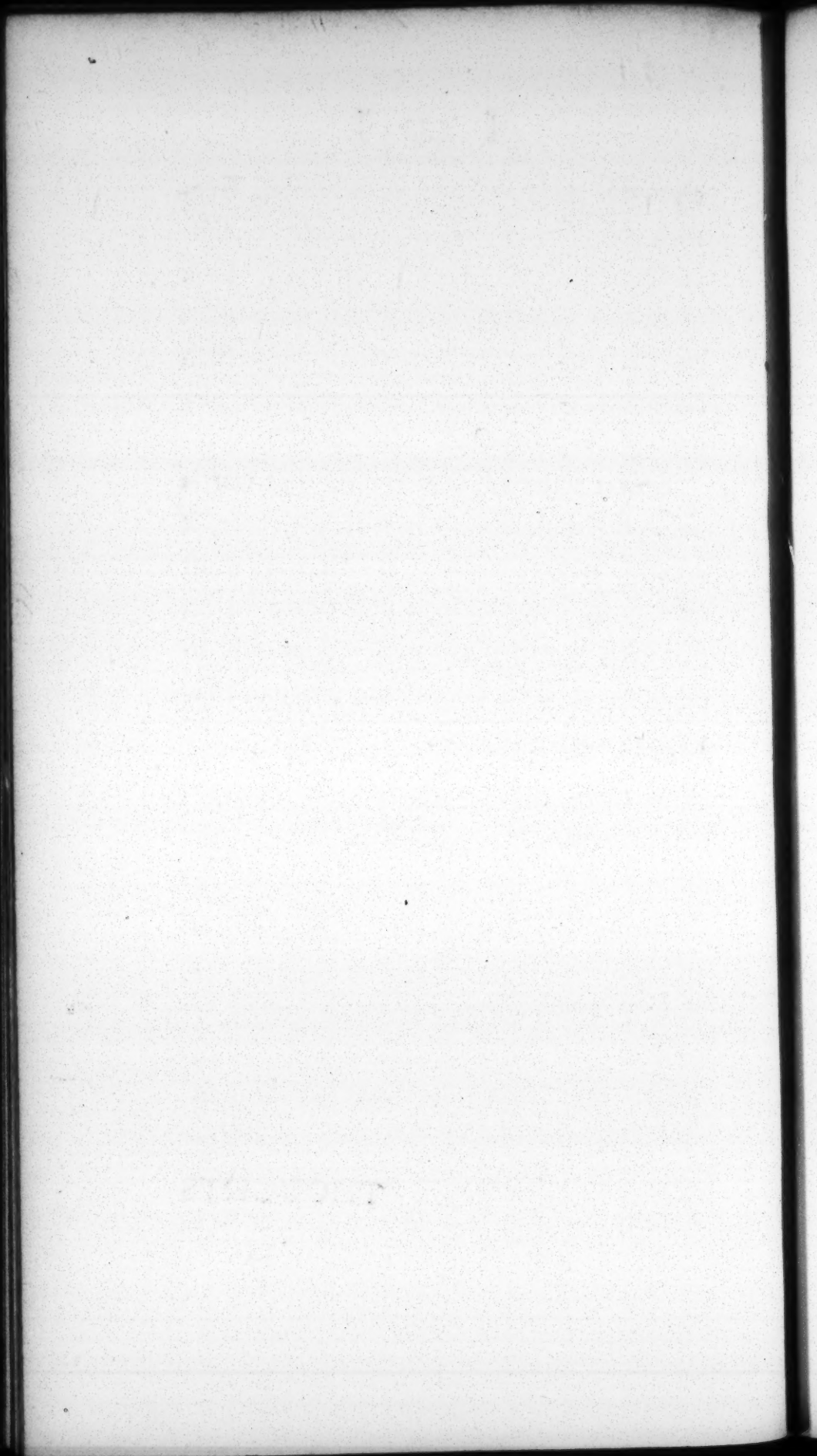
tion, should thus pursue mischief for diversion, and be delighted in proportion to the miseries he occasioned? I say, what name could we find detestable enough for such a being? yet let us consider it impartially, and we shall find that, with regard to inferior creatures, just such a being is a sportsman.

Was a superior being, who had never visited this terrestrial globe, informed by another who had, that it was inhabited by creatures called men, who, though well able to make themselves, that is each other, happy, yet were perpetually labouring to introduce universal misery by their mutual injuries; that thousands of these creatures were perpetually employed in plundering, starving, maiming, and murdering each other; that they did and suffered all this in obedience to the commands of a few of the most wicked and worthless individuals of their own species, whom they neither knew or cared for, or perhaps ever saw; if he was told at the same time that these

creatures

creatures were endued with reason, free-will, reflection, foresight, and love of self-preservation, he would certainly look upon this information as the fictions of a traveller, and never be persuaded that such creatures could ever really exist in any part of the universe.

If that tenet of quakerism, that war is absolutely unlawful, is not strictly true, it is certainly very near it; for all wars must be unjust, and consequently unlawful on one side, and they are most commonly so on both at their commencement, and always in their progress.



T H O U G H T S

O N A

PARLIAMENTARY REFORM.

THE great object of a parliamentary reform I take to be this, to procure a parliament totally independent on the crown and its ministers; in which no member shall be intimidated by power, seduced by hopes, or corrupted by interest: this seems at present to be the chief pursuit of all our political doctors; the grand specific which alone can cure all our national disorders, and restore our broken constitution to its original vigour.

On this important subject two questions offer themselves for our consideration; first, What are the most likely means

means to obtain such a parliament; and secondly, What would be the effects of it if obtained.

For the first, innumerable have been the schemes presented to the public by real and pretended patriots, that is, by those who have more honesty than sense, and those who have more sense than honesty. Some have been for shortening the duration of parliaments to three, and some to one year: some have recommended voting by ballot, as the most effectual method to put an end to bribery; others have disapproved it as inconsistent with that open avowal which ought to accompany every act of a British freeman: some have proposed to annihilate all the small and corrupt boroughs, and to add the same number of representatives which they now send to the several counties: some to add to the counties, and not to disfranchise the boroughs; others to abolish the boroughs, without any addition to the counties: some to enlarge, and some to

to diminish the qualifications of the electors ; and others to require no qualification at all, but to allow every man a vote, who is not disqualified by nature, for want of reason, or by law, for the commission of some crime : but as very few have agreed in any one of these propositions, and no one has been able to form any satisfactory plan out of them all, I shall not here enter into any discussion of their merits, or make any comparison between them ; but shall only say, that of all these plans, that of giving a right of voting universally, together with annual elections, appears to be the most uniform, consistent, and effectual : it has indeed one capital defect, which is, that it is absolutely and utterly impracticable ; but I do not mention this as an objection, so far from it, that I think it is its chief excellence, and is what induces me to prefer it to all the rest.

To be convinced of the impracticability of this scheme, let us but figure to ourselves

selves multitudes of all descriptions and denominations called out to exercise their right of voting, inflamed by contest and intoxicated by liquor ; labourers and manufacturers of every kind, above and under ground ; weavers from their looms, and miners from tinneries, and coal-pits ; sailors from their ships, and soldiers from their quarters ;—to whom we must add, thousands of thieves, smugglers, rogues, vagabonds, and vagrants : I say, let us figure to ourselves all these respectable electors let loose in one day throughout every part of the kingdom, and such a scene of confusion, of drunkenness and riot, of rapine, murder, and conflagration, will present itself, as must shock us with horror, even in imagination.

Nor would it be possible to carry on, or ever to conclude elections in which the voters are so innumerable, and consequently so unknown. They must be polled in one of these two ways ; they must either be admitted only to vote in the pa-

ishes to which they belong, or permitted to be polled in whatever place they happened, or chose to be at the time of the election: should the first of these methods be adopted, the acceptance or rejection of every vote might be attended with the trial of a settlement, and counsel learned in the law be heard on both sides: if the latter, crowds so numerous, and so unknown to the candidates, and all whom they could employ to poll them, would press into every place, where money and liquor flowed in the greatest abundance, that the chief part of them might vote in ten different places, or ten times in the same place undiscovered; and if these elections were annual, one could not be finished before the other began.

Another reason which persuades me that this scheme is impracticable, is, that I cannot foresee any class of men whose interest or inclination would not induce them to oppose it: the landed gentleman
would

would not much approve, that every pauper, gypſy, vagrant, and leaſt of all every poacher, ſhould enjoy as great a ſhare in the legiſlature as himſelf; the city of London will never conſent that every drayman, hackney-coachman, and chimney-ſweeper, ſhould be veſted with as good a vote as the lord mayor and aldermen, nor the livery be deſirous of admitting ſo numerous an addition to their reſpectable fraternity: the corporations throughout the kingdom, will never ſubmit to have their conſequence annihilated by a participation of their privileges with ſo innumerable a multitude; nor do I think that very multitude, or the people at large, would be extremely zealous to ſupport it: at firſt, indeed, when they are told, that they ſhall all be legiſlators, obliged to obey no laws but of their own making, nor pay any taxes but of their own impoſing, and that every one of them ſhall have as good a vote for a parliament man as the Squire or the parſon, and re-
collect

collect that this vote has ever been as good as ready money ; they will perhaps be a little elated and delighted with their new acquisition ; but when they are better informed, and understand, that the intent of this scheme is to prevent all bribery and corruption, and will preclude them from receiving one shilling or one dram of gin for their votes, they will reject this useless donation with contempt ; and there will not be a tinker, who will not choose rather to mend a kettle for sixpence, than the constitution for nothing, nor a labourer, who will not make faggots rather than laws, nor a pick-pocket, who will not prefer the exercise of his profession at an election to giving his vote.

But was this scheme of universal representation, or any other of the proposed plans of reformation practicable, and pursued, certain I am, that they would not in the least contribute to the great end, which is the formation of an independent parliament, because reason does not persuade

me, that electors the most ignorant and profligate, the most necessitous and venal, would return members more incorrupt than the present; nor does experience teach me, that ten or twenty constituents would chuse representatives less able or less honest than ten or twenty thousand. I am firmly convinced, both by reason and long experience, that no alteration in the mode of election, or in the electors themselves, would produce any change in the elected; in them lies the source of the evil, which no external application can approach: whether they are chosen by a greater or a less number, by counties or boroughs, by the rich or by the poor, by ballot or by audible voices, the parliament, when assembled, will be just the same; different modes of election may make some difference in the trouble and expence of the candidates, and may differently affect the morals of the people, and the peace of the country, but will make no difference in the representative

tive body when brought together, and it is of little signification by what means they come there: the majority of any legislative assembly, consisting of five hundred and fifty members, in the same circumstances and situation, will infallibly act in the same manner; if their situations differ, their proceedings will differ with them. In the weakness of infant states, and in perilous times, they will be more intent on the safety of the community, because their own is immediately included in it; but when the danger is removed, they will be more influenced by the views of interest and ambition, they will split into factions and parties, and list under contending leaders, and sometimes prefer their interest or their own to that of their country. Their corruption will always increase in proportion to their power, because they have more to sell and are more necessary to be bought. Those who cannot make shift with such a parliament, must have none, because it is im-

possible for any mode of election, or species of electors, to choose a better, unless they could make men, as well as members.

Let us now see what would be the effects of this independent parliament, if obtained. By an independent parliament, in the language of the present times, is to be understood a parliament in which the majority would oppose any administration: now no arguments are necessary to prove, that with such a parliament no public business whatever could be transacted, nor any government subsist. But it will be said, this is not what is wished for, but one in which the members shall be always ready to support the measures of ministers, when right, and to resist them when wrong, unawed, and uninfluenced, and guided only by the dictates of their own judgment and conscience. This indeed is what every wise man would desire, but no wise man will expect to see, as no such assembly, if numerous, ever existed in this
or

or in any country, from the beginning of the world to the present hour, nor ever can, unless mankind were melted down, and run in a new mould : as they are now formed, in every numerous assembly there must be some who have no judgment, and others who have no conscience, and some who have neither : take away self-interest, and all these will have no star to steer by, but must sail without a compass, just as the gales of favour, or resentment, of popular absurdity, or their own shall direct them ; a minister therefore must be possessed of some attractive influence, to enable him to draw together these discordant particles, and unite them in a firm and solid majority, without which he can pursue no measures of public utility with steadiness or success. An independent House of Commons is no part of the English constitution, the excellence of which consists in being composed of three powers, mutually dependent on each other : of these, if any one was to become

R 3 independent

independent of the other two, it must engross the whole power to itself, and the form of our government would be immediately changed. This an independent House of Commons actually performed in the last century, murdered the king, annihilated the peers, and established the worst kind of democracy that ever existed; and the same confusion would infallibly be repeated, should we ever be so unfortunate as to see another.

A numerous assembly uninfluenced is as much a creature of the imagination, as a griffin or a dragon; the one created by the poets, the other by ignorant or designing politicians. Parliaments have ever been influenced, and by that means our constitution has so long subsisted; but the end and nature of that influence is perpetually misrepresented and misunderstood. They are seldom, very seldom, bribed to injure their country, because it is seldom the interest of ministers to injure it; but the great source of corruption is, that they
will

will not serve it for nothing. Men get into parliament in pursuit of power, honours, and preferments, and until they obtain them, determine to obstruct all business, and to distress government; but happily for their country, they are no sooner gratified, than they are equally zealous to promote the one, and support the other.

Upon the whole, under the same mode of elections, and under parliaments not less influenced than the present, this nation has not only subsisted for many years, but arrived at the summit of wealth, honour, power, and dominion, and might still have preserved them, if the means of that influence had been sufficient to satisfy the demands of ambition, and the hunger of faction. But even now, if we survey the condition of every country on the globe, and compare it with our own, we shall find abundant reason to be contented: there are in it some evils, and much good, which is the utmost which

any human institution will admit of. We have, indeed, too much oratory, too much liberty, too much debt, and too many taxes; but then we have plenty, and may have peace, if we please: we have security to our persons and properties, and excellent laws, justly, though not very cheaply administered; we have a parliament not worse, and a king a great deal better than we deserve, and therefore I shall conclude with the words of Shakespear,

*'Tis better sure, to bear the ills we know,
Than fly to others, which we know not of.*

A

S C H E M E

FOR THE

COALITION OF PARTIES.

1782.

OBSERVING it several times announced in the papers, that a certain able politician would shortly oblige the world with a Scheme for the Coalition of all Parties: I have long waited with much impatience for a sight of so desirable a work, from so eminent a hand; but having been hitherto disappointed, I thought I could not employ a few leisure hours more beneficially for my country, than

than in adding my inconsiderable endeavours for the discovery of this important secret; and that, the more heads were employed in a design so useful, the sooner, and the more compleatly, it would be finished. If the scheme of that ingenious gentleman should exactly correspond with mine, much weight will be added to my proposal; but, if they should differ in a few particulars, the impartial and infallible public may take their choice.

I shall not here follow the example of our modern reformers, civil and ecclesiastical, in pulling down without rebuilding, complaining without redressing, and opposing without proposing; but shall offer a plain and simple scheme, which I am sure will be effectual, and hope will be unexceptionable to men of all parties, connexions, and denominations; as it cannot fail to promote all their interests, as well as that of the public.

Before I presumed to prescribe, I thought it right to investigate the cause of

the disease; and therefore have diligently enquired whether our present dissensions have arisen, as formerly, from any differences of opinions, or any contradictory articles in our political creeds; but, on the strictest examination, I can find no such differences to exist: parties I see many, but cannot discern one principle amongst them; they are neither Whigs nor Tories, Monarchy-men nor Republicans, High-church nor Low-church, Hanoverians nor Jacobites: they have all acted alternately on all these principles, as they have served a present occasion; but have adhered to none of them, nor even pretended to profess them: they have all been ready to support government, whenever they have enjoyed the administration of it; and almost all as ready to subvert it, whenever they were excluded. I see few, very few, who have formed the most distant intentions of destroying the government, or changing the constitution of this country; but, I am afraid, I see as few, who scruple to plunge

plunge them both into the most imminent danger, rather than be stopped in the wild career of their headlong ambition : from whence it appears to me plainly demonstrable, that all our present dissensions are nothing more than an outrageous contest for power and profit, there being no other cause from whence they can possibly be derived. He, therefore, who can point out a method to put an end to this contest, need enquire no farther ; the work is done, and a cordial and lasting coalition will immediately ensue.

In order to qualify myself for this task, and forming such a coalition, I have endeavoured to recollect all the plans, which have hitherto been offered in writing or conversation, for this purpose ; and I cannot remember one, that contained any thing more, than this short proposal, to dismiss all at that time in administration, and to admit the proposer and his friends into their places, which he always calls a coalition, and recommends as the only method

thod to restore concord to a nation, which he fails not to represent as much out of humour as himself. Although this plan may probably be perfectly right, as it has been universally adopted by all parties in their turns ; yet it has of late been tried with so little success, that I would by no means have it repeated, and therefore it shall make no part of my proposal.

I have likewise consulted some of the most indigent, thinking them the most disinterested, patriots, struggling for that liberty and property of which they themselves enjoy so small a share, whose sentiments therefore had great weight with me on this important subject: but these all unanimously agree, that no concord, or coalition, can or ought to take place, until an effectual place-bill and annual parliaments shall be established ; that these, and these alone, can put an end to our dissensions, by extirpating venality and corruption, and restoring to us an independent and honest representation ; but so
dull

dull am I of apprehension, that the salutary effects of these regulations do not appear to me quite so clear; because, though I know that honesty will make men independent, yet I do not see that independence will make them honest; nor that a parliament, if not honest, will be the less dangerous for being independent. Nor can I comprehend, that multiplying corrupt elections will put an end to corruption; nor that the more frequent returns of expensive contests will promote the choice of those who have the least money to spend; nor, if such should be chosen, that they would be more independent because they were poorer, and consequently had more wants to be satisfied: all this may be very good logic, but it does not strike very forcibly on my understanding; and therefore neither of these regulations shall be admitted into my system.

I shall prescribe no remedies for national disorders, the effects of which I am
not

not able to answer for, which perhaps after a long circuit through every vessel of the body politic may produce consequences directly contrary to my intentions; and, instead of curing the present complaints, render them much worse, or produce a new disease, more dangerous and more difficult to conquer: I shall rather strike at once at the great root of all political evils, which every one knows is the ministry itself; and therefore, instead of recommending annual parliaments, I shall propose an annual administration; in which single regulation my whole scheme is comprehended, and which I would have constituted in the following manner.

On the first day of every session of parliament, before any business should be proceeded on, an urn or box should be placed on the table of each house, in which should be deposited small pieces of paper, inscribed with the names of all the great offices in the state, household, treasury,

treasury, and admiralty, and sealed up with the greatest secrecy and care, the names of those offices which are usually appropriated to the members of each house being put into their respective boxes. I would then propose, that a committee of thirty from the peers, and one hundred from the commons, of their most considerable members, should be chosen by ballot, or the whole be admitted, if that should give more satisfaction, who should draw out these tickets from the urns or boxes, and immediately take possession of whatever post fortune should thus fling into their hands, and keep it unmolested and irremoveable during the next ensuing year, their commissions being made out accordingly : as to all inferior places, they should remain in the same hands, to prevent any confusion or interruption in the business of the public, until they become vacant by deaths or promotions, and then they should be filled up by the principals in each department for the time being ;
by

by which means they will all have equal opportunities of providing for their friends and adherents, who will not then be very numerous, or much wanted, when offices are attainable only by the foregoing method.

This scheme necessarily puts an end to all contests for power and profit, and with them to venality, corruption, and all our political diseases, which are but their unavoidable consequences : when nothing can be obtained by contention, we shall contend no more ; peace and harmony will return, and this much-fought-for coalition immediately be effected. It is also, like all other great discoveries, so simple and obvious a remedy, that it is not a little surprising that it should not have been before hit upon by some of those numerous state physicians, who daily study, and prescribe to the national constitution.

But, in order the better to explain its operations, and shew its salutary effects, I

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shall

shall consider it under the following heads ; how it will affect the king, how the administration, how the opposition, and how the nation. And here I beg leave to premise, that by these I would not be understood to mean those only who now fill those situations, but all kings, administrations, and oppositions, that do, or shall at any time exist hereafter.

First then as to the king ; I am sensible that this scheme will rob him of one of the choicest of his prerogatives, the disposal of all offices of trust and profit ; wisely, as some have thought, placed in his royal hands by the constitution for the most salutary purposes ; though improperly in the opinion of others, to whose share none of them have fallen ; therefore I should by no means advise, that so capital and so hazardous an alteration should be made permanent by law, but only tried for a few years, as an experiment, whose consequences cannot be well ascertained until they become visible by practice.

tice. But, however it may affect the rights of the crown, it will certainly relieve the possessor from innumerable trouble; the jewel here taken away is indeed one of its richest, yet it is one of the heaviest loads on the head of the wearer, and cannot fail to convert it into a crown of thorns. It is indeed a prodigious power; but it is a perplexing power, which serves only to make the many solicitors who must be refused angry, and the few who are obliged ungrateful: it is indeed a pre-eminence of royalty, but it is a painful pre-eminence; and to relinquish it, would be an escape from most of the disquietudes which attend that exalted but uneasy situation. Could this be done, a wise, a just, and virtuous prince would no longer lie under the disagreeable necessity of preferring knaves for their intrigues, profligates for their abilities, and fools for their connexions; nor any more be molested with addresses, remonstrances, and petitions; for no excluded party, if

my scheme was established, would ever address to remove an administration, which, like a butterfly, could survive but one season; none would remonstrate against grievances, which, by their acquisition of places would all be very soon redressed; nor petition to dissolve a parliament, which will probably fall ready made into their own hands in the course of a few months.

From ministers in possession only I expect objections; but, if they would consider how greatly this scheme will contribute to their own ease and advantage, objects to which they usually pay some regard, they cannot, I think, refuse it their concurrence: for whenever they shall be so fortunate as by this means to get into power, they will be sure to keep it for a whole twelve-month; and not only keep it, but keep it unmolested by all opposition: for, when power is thus placed in the hands of Fortune, she alone can be blamed for the unsuccessful efforts
of

of ambition, and the disappointment of men's own imaginary merit. This will exempt all ministers from the most disagreeable embarrassments of their office ; they will no longer be obliged to neglect their supporters, and promote their adversaries, nor to reward every one in proportion as they abuse them ; a conduct, which though habit, I know, renders less painful than might be imagined ; yet must ever be inconvenient, because it cannot fail to create new adversaries, and new abuses. They will no longer be dependent on the caprice of a mistress or a favourite, nor even on the will of their sovereign himself ; nor will they be distressed, if they should be so uncommonly unfortunate, as to have to deal with a prince, who has not one vice, attachment, or prejudice, by the indulgence of which he can be either purchased or controuled. They will no longer be obliged to court the humours, or satisfy the demands of an insatiable parliament ; nor

reduced to the humiliating necessity of frequent applications to recruit the revenues of the civil list, exhausted by corrupting men to be honest, and paying them for that support to government, for which their own interest and duty ought to have been sufficient inducements ; and whenever they are displaced by this rotation, they can have no cause to be angry, and therefore cannot be tempted to disgrace themselves, by insisting immediately into opposition, by unsaying all they have said, undoing all they have done, defeating every measure which they had adopted, and sacrificing their principles and characters to gratify their resentments. As they will have little to promise, and less to bestow, they will be little troubled with those two worst species of persecutors, their friends, and their enemies ; they will no longer be baited in senates, reviled in news-papers, and insulted in the streets ; and both their promises and their windows will be less frequently

quently broken ; in short, they will oftener be able to dine as regularly, to sleep as quietly, and walk as securely, as the most insignificant man in the kingdom. I shall add but one other inducement to prevail on ministers to agree to my proposal ; an inducement, which perhaps they may think too inconsiderable to be mentioned ; which is this, that by it they will be placed in a situation, in which they may be capable of doing some service to their country ; in which they may enjoy leisure and quiet, sufficient to enable them to form and execute some plans for the regulation of our police, the re-establishment of our government, and payment of our debts ; all which, in their present state of being pilloried and pelted, are utterly impracticable. If there should be any in administration, who are skilled in, or fond of play, their patronage I may surely depend on, as my scheme will afford them a new and entertaining game, in which Fortune will be the disposer of

all good things ; a lady, with whom they have had so long an intimacy, and with whom they may be presumed to have no inconsiderable interest.

To the opposition, I think, few arguments need be used, to persuade them to support a scheme so manifestly calculated for their advantage ; which will immediately extricate them from a laborious and unprofitable situation, and give them an equal chance with others of acquiring the most honourable and profitable offices in the state, of which at present they seem to have no chance at all. Whenever they shall be so lucky, as to be elected by this means into power, they will then enjoy all the benefits which I have just now enumerated, in the situation of ministers ; and whenever they shall be unfortunately excluded, their condition even then will be much preferable to their present ; for they will be delivered from the troublesome and barren occupation of fruitless opposition, which will then exist no more : they will therefore no longer be obliged to toil and sweat,

sweat, whole days and nights, in supporting questions, which they disapprove : and motions, which they neither expect nor wish to carry ; they will no more be obliged to expend their own fortunes in forming clubs, cementing factions, fomenting tumults, and purchasing petitions, on the bare possibility of being some time or other reimbursed by the public. They will no longer be compelled to deceive the people, whose interests they regard ; to debase the character, and abandon the privileges of both houses of parliament, of which they are members : or to insult the Sovereign, whom they love and honour, and whose favour is their principal pursuit ; nor, if all these should fail, to call in a patriotic plague, famine, or war, to their assistance : this conduct, I know, is strictly justifiable, from necessity, and fidelity to connections, and warranted by precedents innumerable and immemorial ; but yet, on reflexion, must certainly be disagreeable to honest and ingenuous minds.

Besides

Besides an exemption from these Herculean labours, they will acquire, even during their exclusion, no inconsiderable pecuniary advantage ; for the reverfionary chance of a lucrative place in the choice of next year will fetch no contemptible sum in the present ; and I doubt not, as soon as my scheme shall be established, will be as exactly calculated, and as readily done at Jonathan's, as a Lottery Ticket, or Bank or India Stock, for the opening.

Let us now see how this my scheme will affect the nation. And here I discern a most agreeable prospect ; for I see an end to all parliamentary contests, the offspring of self-interest, and parent of corruption ; and with it an end to all those factions and discontents, those misconducts and misfortunes, which have divided and distressed this country for above half a century :

“ *Hâc fonte derivata clades
In patriam populumque fluxit.*”

From

From this impure source they have all proceeded ; from this has every calamity issued, that has overflowed the land : it was this that produced a Spanish war in the year 1739, which produced a French war, which after a short peace produced another French, another Spanish, a German, and American war ; these produced a national debt of one hundred and fifty millions, with innumerable and never-ceasing taxes to defray their interest ; these have produced loans, jobbs, contracts, and all manner of plunder ; these have produced private riches and public poverty, which have produced high price of provisions, dearness of labour, complaints of manufacturers, luxury and idleness, riots and tumults, with all those numerous grievances, which the nation really feels, or fancies that she feels, from her present nervous disposition.

All these, I question not, will be prevented in future by my proposal ; to which I have never heard any objections,
except

except the two following, which I shall endeavour to answer.

First, that these annual changes in administration will occasion such continual changes in measures, that no system, foreign or domestic, could be pursued with steadiness and effect. To this I reply, that, under the present mode of government, this must certainly be the consequence of such frequent changes; but, under the regulations of my scheme, they will have no such operations; because the new ministry, being introduced without contest, will be under no necessity of counteracting every measure which had been adopted by the old: they will not be mortgaged to old connexions and old animosities, nor embarrassed by old principles and old professions; and therefore they will not be obliged in honour to involve the nation in a war, because the last ministry had concluded a peace; nor to relinquish taxes of which they might avail themselves, because they had formerly

ly voted against them; nor to wink at libels, and indulge riots, because they had once been useful; nor to ruin themselves by the same arts by which they had ruined their predecessors, to prove the consistency of their conduct. This rotation of ministers will therefore be so far from changing systems, that it will contribute very much to continue them: for, if any one administration should happen to fix upon any one system, the rest, having no inducement to alter it, will probably pursue it in preference to the trouble of finding out another. But if the worst should happen, and no system at all be pursued, the nation perhaps might not suffer so much as may be imagined; for what system can we remember to have been ever strictly adhered to in this country, except this, that opposition should do mischief, and ministers embarrassed by a perpetual warfare do nothing; and yet under this we have constantly gone on, improving

improving in wealth, trade, liberty, power, and prosperity, to this hour.

The other is, that if all opposition is by this scheme put an end to, there will remain no check upon evil ministers, and the people will be left a defenceless prey to their tyranny and rapacity. This, indeed, is a formidable objection; and so tenacious am I of the liberties of the people, and so jealous of the encroachments of ministerial power, that, if I thought my proposal would be attended with consequences so fatal, I would instantly abandon it, in spite of all the parental fondness of a projector. But of this I cannot entertain the least apprehensions; for although it will destroy all opposition in parliament, where it is seldom honest, and always hurtful; yet it will leave it in full vigour amongst the people, where it is often honest, and seldom injurious to the public: enough of it will remain in the hearts and mouths of common-council-men, livery-men,

men, and freeholders, to watch over the conduct of ministers; here is its native soil, and here it ought always to be cultivated: but whenever it takes root amongst the great, whenever it shoots up into courts, councils, and senates, it soon degenerates into selfish and angry factions, who, under a pretended zeal for the welfare of the public, are contending only who shall first sacrifice it to the mean ends of private ambition or avarice; for true English opposition to government is like that respectable animal the true English mastiff, who, when permitted to prowl and roar about the yards and out-houses, is a faithful, honest, and intrepid guardian; but, if admitted into the drawing-room, becomes a very offensive and a very dangerous visitor.

And here, by the bye, I cannot but applaud the honest sagacity of that honourable society, the Supporters of the Bill of Rights, who have declared eternal war with all great men, esteeming them danger-

rous coadjutors in the cause of liberty, and wisely concluding, that it is impossible that persons possessed of exalted titles, vast property, and extensive power, should ever be in earnest, in endeavouring to destroy their own superiority, and the subordination of others.

Much more might be urged in favour of my scheme ; but I shall leave it to its own apparent merits for success, and shall now conclude with this single caution to my readers, not to imagine that there is any thing in the foregoing pages in the least degree ludicrous ; a caution which I think not altogether unnecessary, from frequently observing, that plain truths, concisely expressed, and brought home to mens minds, are apt to strike on the very same chords in the human brain, which are peculiarly appropriated to wit and humour, and are therefore often mistaken for them : for which reason, I forwarn all who shall peruse this short essay, against falling into this common error ; and assure them,

them, that, in these considerations on this serious subject, not any wit, nor any humour except good humour, is, or was ever intended to be, admitted ; nor is the least reflection designed on the conduct of any man, or set of men whatever : my scheme is solely founded on conjecture, arising from the known principles of human nature, which concludes that men will act in such a manner, in such circumstances, and such situations. It is not here asserted that any have so acted in such situations ; but only supposed, that the generality of mankind eternally will.

than that in their conditions or in
their living, not any way, not any
more except good fortune, or was that
meant to be, and yet, that is the best
condition, defined in the conduct of
any man, or let of men whatever; not
because it is fully founded on conduct,
but from the known condition of the
man himself, which condition is that man
will be in such a manner, in such a
state, and such a situation. It is not
here stated that any have to act in
such positions; but only implied, that
the greatest, or mankind generally will.

T H O U G H T S

O N T H E

N A T I O N A L D E B T.

Notwithstanding the practice of funding has prevailed in this country for a century, the nature and effects of a debt by this means contracted seem yet to be very imperfectly understood. The ministers who have contracted it have always been satisfied with procuring what money they wanted on the best terms they could for the public, and have thought little of its consequences, but have left them to the decision of time, accidents, and future administrations: the ablest financiers have widely differed in their opinions concerning its nature and effects; some have considered it as a perso-

nal debt, his share of which every individual of which the public is composed is obliged to discharge ; others have looked upon it as a mortgage on all the landed property of the nation, and have computed the possible extension and duration in proportion to its approach to the ultimate value of that property ; and hence as many æras have been fixed for the dissolution of the funds as for the end of the world ; but happily the political and theological prophets have been equally mistaken.

A few have viewed it with less terrible apprehensions, and a very few indeed have ventured, in contradiction to the universal sense of mankind, to assert, that it is the source of all our wealth, power, and prosperity.

From hence so many absurdities, mistakes, and misrepresentations are daily propagated, both in writings and conversation, concerning the nature and effects of the national debt, that I cannot forbear

bear putting together a few plain thoughts on a subject which has been so much discussed and so little understood. I pretend to no abilities in financiering, and therefore shall not, like most of my predecessors, adorn my pages with long rows of figures, or puzzle my reader and myself with intricate calculations, but endeavour, as concisely as possible, to explain the nature and effects of this debt in a manner agreeable to the dictates of reason and common sense.

What has led most of those who have employed their thoughts and pens on this subject into errors is this: They have constantly considered this national debt as similar to a debt contracted between two private individuals, to which it bears not the least resemblance; the private debtor is obliged to pay his creditor, if his effects are sufficient for that purpose; the public are under no obligation to pay theirs, because they originally granted

them no more than a perpetual and transferable annuity : the principle of a private debt is secured by law, though the interest cannot always be got without much difficulty and delay ; the interest of the public debt is punctually discharged, but the principal cannot be demanded or obtained by any other means than by transferring it to another person for whatever price he shall be willing to give ; the private debtor is poor in proportion to his debt, but the public is enriched by whatever it owes ; the private debtor would be rich if his debts were discharged, but the nation would be impoverished if hers were paid off. This much more resembles a debt which a man might contract with himself, by borrowing out of one pocket and lending to another ; but even from this it widely differs, because, by such a traffic a man could be neither richer or poorer ; though he could not be ruined, he could never be a gainer ; where-

as the nation, by borrowing too much, may possibly become a bankrupt; but in the mean time is inconceivably enriched.

All foreign nations, as well as ourselves, have long been astonished to see this country, not only supporting her credit, but encreasing every year in wealth, commerce, population, luxury, and magnificence, during the whole accumulation of this enormous debt. But I am persuaded, that if the nature and effects of it were clearly and properly understood the miracle would cease, and it would evidently appear, that all these improvements and acquisitions are principally derived from the debt itself; and to prove this, I will begin by tracing the effects and consequences of one million thus borrowed by government, by which those of any greater number will become visible in their due proportion.

We will suppose then, that administration find it necessary to fit out, man, and victual a fleet, to defray the expence

of which one million will be wanting; the public is obliged to borrow this sum, and the several individuals, of whom that public is composed, are ready to lend it; so that here the public acts under a double character, that is, of a debtor and a creditor at the same time; as a body corporate she borrows, and as a society of individuals she lends; that is, in fact, she borrows of herself. A loan is now opened for this sum at the rate of five per cent. and parliament imposes taxes to defray the annual interest of fifty thousand pounds. This is immediately filled, and the whole money paid into the Treasury, from whence it is soon issued out to pay the sailors, and the various tradesmen and artificers who are employed in the undertaking, the shipwright, the carpenter, the blacksmiths, the sail-makers, the painters, the caulkers, and the rope-makers, to which must be added the brewers, the bakers, the farmer, and the grazier, with all those by whom provisions

are

are produced or prepared. These soon diffuse it through all the occupations and professions, the most remote from the original purpose for which it was borrowed, in which beneficial distribution they are not a little assisted by the patriotic spirit of their wives and daughters, who take care that milliners, mantua-makers, ribbon-weavers, hair-dressers, dancing-masters, and fiddlers, shall have their share; and thus the whole million quickly returns back to the public, that is, to the individuals who compose it. The public, therefore, cannot be the poorer for this loan, neither as the debtor or a creditor; as a debtor she can lose nothing, because the whole interest of the debt is paid for her by a new tax, and as a creditor she is a great gainer, because the principal is soon refunded, and yet she continues to receive the interest, which is therefore a clear acquisition of fifty thousand pounds a year.

But perhaps it may be asked, from whence

whence comes this fifty thousand pounds a year ? I answer, certainly from the same public who annually pay it, under the name of taxes, and receive it again under the denomination of interest. It does not, indeed, always return into the same pockets from whence it was extracted, and therefore some individuals in particular situations must be sufferers ; but the nation at large can never be impoverished by a debt of this kind, to whatever extent it might be carried. It is a mill which may be for ever worked with the same stream of wealth, without any diminution, provided no part of it is diverted into a foreign channel, from whence it returns no more. Some of it is so diverted to pay interest to those foreigners who have deposited their money in our funds ; but even by this we can be no losers, as we are in possession of their principal, which we shall never repay, the use of which is of much greater value than the interest.

Thus

Thus far it has been clearly proved, that the wealth of this country cannot be in the least impaired by the debt; but on further examination it will appear as clearly, that it is greatly increased, and that our present unexampled opulence is principally derived from this source which it causes, by enabling us to circulate such prodigious sums as the principal and interest of our enormous debt. The circulation of money is money, and so much, that it cannot be computed by any calculation. We every day see bankers living not only in affluence but magnificence, building palaces and purchasing estates, by the sole profits of capitals very inconsiderable continually circulated, and some by circulating the wealth of others, without any capital at all. A few thousand pounds diffused through the various occupations and professions of a small town will maintain all the families of which it is composed better than the same sum would support one family if it remained unemployed

unemployed in the hands of a single person. The butcher and the baker feed the taylor and the draper, who clothes them in return; the farmer employs the carpenter, the bricklayer, and the labourer, and they assist him by consuming part of his crop; the parson maintains a wife and six children, and the attorney builds a house and buys land, and they are all paid in their turns by the perpetual rotation of the same money. If, then, the circulating a small sum within such narrow limits can do all this, what will not the circulation of so many millions be able to effect in the hands of a great and powerful nation, when employed in improving commerce, agriculture, and manufactures, and the extension of plunder and rapine over the most remote regions of the globe?

There is, besides, one circumstance which has greatly contributed to support us under this vast load of debt and accumulation of interest, which has been little if at all observed, though well worthy of observation,

observation ; which, therefore, I shall endeavour to explain. The principal of this debt cannot be demanded, and will never be repaid, and for that reason cannot materially affect us. The interest, which must be punctually discharged every year, is the only load under which we labour, but the pressure of this is greatly alleviated by its own consequences and operations, as thus :—For every million borrowed by government at five per cent. an interest is annually paid of fifty thousand pounds ; this is every year received by the creditors, and expended by them in purchasing all the necessaries, conveniencies, and luxuries of life, which are all heavily taxed ; by this income they are enabled to build houses, to keep coaches, servants, and horses, and are consequently obliged to pay the house tax, the window tax, the coach tax, the servants tax, and the horse tax ; by this they are enabled to consume larger quantities of wine, beer, tea, brandy, coals, soap, and
candles,

candles, with innumerable other articles, some of which pay duties equal, and some superior to their original values. This brings into the treasury a new and additional income, perhaps nearly sufficient to discharge the interest of the new loan, which never could have come in if this million had never been borrowed.

But it may be said, if the proprietors of these loans pay annually as much in taxes as they receive in interest, how are they richer, or able to expend more money on these various articles than they would be if they neither paid the one or received the other, and there were no debt, taxes, or interest at all? I answer, because if there were none, no such quantity of money as they now possess would exist, and consequently they could not expend it. It is these and the circulation of them that create this wealth, which, though fictitious, answers all the purposes of real cash, and is therefore of equal value. Our debt is in fact our riches, the
greater

greater it is the more we can expend, and the more we owe, the easier we find it to borrow, because there is more to be lent. However paradoxical these propositions may seem, they are undoubtedly true, and are confirmed by long practice and daily experience, the surest guides in political iniquities.

To be satisfied of their truth, we need only look back on the pecuniary state of this country before the commencement of our national debt, and we shall see that, compared with our present superabundant opulence, there was no money, and that our power, grandeur, and riches have gradually increased in proportion to the interest of that debt, which puts me in mind of what one Irishman said of another, that once he knew him a poor fellow with scarce a coat to his back, though he was now grown a great rich man, and owed ten thousand pounds. As there was then but very little property except land, the landed gentleman was much richer, that is, stood
higher

higher in the scale of comparative riches than he stands at present ; but he had no money, nor wanted much ; he lived upon the productions of his own estate, in a plentiful but slovenly hospitality. If once in half a year the hard hands of his tenants brought him a few guineas, they were all owing long before they came, and the carpenter, the bricklayer, the taylor, and the shopkeeper were all waiting in the hall for their arrival, anxious to seize them before they escaped. He seldom went farther from home than to a club or a sessions, and then he was obliged to take up half a guinea, on account of rent, to defray his expences. If a Scotch pedlar came into the yard, the whole family were in as great an uproar as the dogs, surveyed the contents of his opened pack with longing eyes, but could not raise cash amongst them sufficient to purchase a dozen or two of pocket handkerchiefs, or a few smocks for the misses. A silk gown never saw day-light except on Sundays.

days. The High Sheriff's laced waistcoat was preserved amongst the family archives, and the wedding coach wheeled slowly through the dirt for three generations. A scarcity of money was visible over the whole face of the country; the wastes were uncultivated, the marshes undrained, the roads almost impassible, and the conveyances tedious and uncomfortable. The metropolis, compared with the present, was of small extent; the streets were narrow, ill paved, ill lighted, few coaches or chairs, few places of public amusement, no bankers shops, except of working goldsmiths, and, had there been any, no cash to be deposited in them. None but some of the first nobility had houses; the country gentleman seldom or never came to town, unless he was sent a representative to parliament, and then in the stage coach, unaccompanied by his wife and family, to a lodging up three pair of stairs in some obscure street, for want of

money to procure a better ; and the minister had none to give him.

Let us now take a view of the astonishing contrast of our present opulence and luxury, which has gradually grown up and kept pace with our debt. The landed gentleman, fitted by education for some honourable and lucrative profession, is no longer to be found amidst the dirt and penury of the country, but appears with affluence and dignity in the character of a general or admiral, a judge or a bishop ; our commerce is extended, and our manufactures improved ; our lands are better cultivated, and our people in every rank of life better fed, clothed, and lodged, than in any former period. Our roads throughout every part of the kingdom are gravel walks, furnished with carriages and post horses at every stage always ready to receive travellers, who are always ready to fill them, and have money in their pockets sufficient to pay them. Our inns are palaces, in which we are sure to find a variety

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ety of wines and provisions of the best kinds, beds and sofas, plate, linen, china, with every elegant accommodation promised by their external appearance; even those of inferior rank are not deficient in every convenience and comfort; have a screen, a carpet, and a mahogany table in every room, and good fowls and mutton in the larder. Our metropolis has spread itself over some thousands of acres, covered with wide streets and spacious squares, adorned with churches, palaces, hospitals, and bridges; streets, courts, and alleys, are full of shops, these shops full of customers, and these customers full of money. Plays, operas, oratorios, and concerts, are exhibited every night, and all to audiences so crowded, that multitudes are turned back, with half guineas in their hands, unable to obtain admission. Thousands are collected from the idle and extravagant for seeing dogs, horses, men, and monkeys perform feats of activity, and, in some places, for the

privilege only of seeing one another. Players, singers, and musicians are rewarded with a ridiculous profusion; an actor on the stage receives as much as one in the senate; and a fidler of the first eminence acquires as good an income as a lord of the treasury. Our houses are filled with the richest furniture, and adorned with pictures and statues of the highest price; our sideboards are covered with plate, our tables with delicacies, our servants with lace, and our wives with diamonds. All these infallible marks of riches have commenced and progressively increased with our debt, and are therefore undoubtedly derived from it. No small part indeed of them have flowed in from the East and West Indies; but these ought also to be placed to the same account; because, without the aid of this fictitious wealth, we could never have so far extended our commerce or our conquests.

It may be said, that, although we allow
this

this fictitious wealth may have been of internal advantage to this country, this cannot give us any comparative superiority over the other nations; because they may all adopt the same method of creating riches, and receive from it the same benefits. I answer, it is not true; because nations who lie under the pressure of a despotic government, and have little commerce, cannot borrow money on the same terms, nor acquire the same profit by the circulation of it if they could. For instance, we see the German states do not and cannot contract any considerable debts, because their own subjects have no money to lend, and foreigners will not place their property in funds, where their security may be annihilated in a moment by the misconduct of a minister, or the edict of a prince. The same reasons operate in a proportional degree with regard to France, who, though vastly superior to Great Britain in extent both of dominion and revenue, could not stand under

a debt of equal weight; and I am persuaded that, at the present juncture, if compelled by a necessity, which I hope will never arrive, this country would be able to add as many millions to her debt as would throw France into a state of universal bankruptcy and confusion. The accumulation of our debt has obliged our neighbours to follow our example; to lay themselves under the pressure of equal loads, without equal abilities to sustain them; and this, perhaps, is not one of the least advantages which we have received from it. The truth of this is sufficiently confirmed by a late very memorable event, which is our American war, on the consequences of which, both ourselves and our enemies were fully persuaded that the commerce, the wealth, the credit, and the very existence of this country depended.

France, therefore, thought no expence too great, which would involve us in the contest, and procure our defeat. This, with the unremitted assistance of
English

English patriotiſm, ſhe at length accompliſhed; but what was the conſequence? why the very reverſe of what our enemies hoped for and we apprehended; our commerce is not leſs, our wealth is greater, and our credit better than they were before the commencement of that war. We are enriched both by the conteſt and by the loſs of that for which we contended; by the firſt, becauſe by that our debt is augmented, which has been proved to be our riches; and by the latter, as by that no inconfiderable ſums are retained, and circulated at home, which would otherwiſe have been annually exported to defray the uſeleſs expences of American jobs. On the contrary, France is ſo exhausted, that ſhe has been obliged to abandon the purſuits of conqueſt and dominion, and ſuffer them to be wreſted even out of her jaws without a ſtruggle; beſides which, her people by their tranſatlantick connections have caught ſuch an idea for liberty as will not eaſily be eradicated

without the loss of more blood than the present state of her constitution is able to bear.

But have not these numerous benefits been introductive of some evils? Certainly of many, both of a private and a public nature. The increase of money, whether real or fictitious, must diminish its value, and consequently augment the price of all the necessaries of life. This no laws or regulations of police can prevent. The circulation of bank notes must advance the price of bread, and the arrival of a dozen or two of Nabobs will make beef and mutton dear in every market. By this all ranks and denominations of men are greatly, though not equally affected; the landed man and the day labourer are the greatest sufferers, because the first cannot raise the price of his land, nor the latter of his labour, fast enough to keep pace with the decrease in the value of money; they both must rise, but they are always behind hand. By this, likewise,

likewise, the nation must suffer not a little; because the advanced price of provisions advances the wages of manufacturers, and consequently the price of her manufactures, which enables rival nations to undersell her; but this is of little consequence, if compared with the multitude of evils which an extraordinary influx of wealth never fails to introduce. It is like the overflowings of the Nile, which, whilst they produce fertility and plenty, engender the most fatal diseases and the most noxious animals.

Plenty of money not only depreciates the value, but lowers the estimation of it to a greater degree than the value. We now part with half a guinea for an opera or a concert with less reluctance than our fathers took leave of half a crown; a beggar in the street will not thank you for halfpence, nor the meanest waiter at an inn for less than a shilling. This disregard to money, and preference given to any gratification, amusement, or pursuit, prevails

prevails through all ranks and conditions of life, and the effects of it are but too visible on this country, into which it has introduced with it such an inundation of idleness, dissipation, luxury, vanity, profusion, and profligacy of every kind, amongst all ranks, from the highest to the lowest of our people, as has nearly destroyed all government and subordination, and has filled our gazettes with bankruptcies, our streets with beggars, our goals with criminals, our coasts with smugglers, our capital with riots, and our parliament with faction. The ablest financiers declared it as their opinion, above half a century ago, that the credit of this country might very well bear a debt of about forty or fifty millions, but that more than one hundred it could not sustain; and perhaps they might have been right, had not the additional revenue arising from every new loan in a great measure discharged the additional interest, a circumstance of which they were not aware; but time and

experience has long since proved, that they were fortunately mistaken, as it now subsists, with unimpaired vigour, under a load of almost three times that magnitude. How much higher this stupendous fabric of fictitious wealth might be raised, no one can determine, and it would be exceedingly unwise to try, because the event must be fatal, whether it succeeded or failed ; if it advanced, it must make us giddy with insolence and luxury, and if it fell it must overwhelm us in its ruins. It is high time, therefore, not only to put a stop to its further progress, but to retrench it as soon, yet as gently as we can ; for which purpose I think no plan more efficacious can be devised than that already begun, which is, to appropriate every year one million of public money to the discharge of the debt. This, if strictly adhered to, by annually sinking both principal and interest, in process of time will perform a great deal, and is the more eligible for being slow and gradual in its operations ; for was it possible to pay off the whole
debt

debt at once, the effects would be exactly the same as if it was not paid at all; a sudden discharge and a sudden bankruptcy would be the same, that is, they would equally involve us in universal confusion and distress. As cash is the only medium by which the public creditor could be paid, we will suppose for a moment, that a sum of three hundred millions in gold and silver is dug out of the mines in Cornwall, or the coal pits of Newcastle, that it is refined, coined, and sent into the treasury, and all the creditors called upon to receive principal and interest, which they accept, because they have no right to refuse. What then would ensue? We should see multitudes staggering under loads of cash, which they could not carry away; many fetching it in wheel-barrows, some in carts, and a few in waggons, and filling warehouses, granaries, and barns with innumerable bushels of useless guineas; useless indeed, for to what use could they be applied? they could not be placed in public funds, because, if there was no debt there

there could be no funds ; they could not be laid out in land, because no man would part with land, the produce of which would maintain himself and his family, for money which would produce nothing ; it could not be lent on mortgage for the same reason ; and it could not even purchase the necessaries of life, because no one would sell a loaf or a leg of mutton which he could eat, for gold and silver which he could not swallow. We might, indeed, like the Mexicans, when first discovered, cover our houses and shoe our horses with these precious metals ; but superfluity would destroy their value, and lead and iron would be more esteemed, because of more general use.

The scheme proposed will prevent these inconveniences, and pare away insensibly every year some part of this unweildy debt, without distressing the public or injuring the creditors ; the public will be gradually exonerated, and the creditors can have no reason to complain, because they are under no compulsion to part
with

with their stock ; and if they chuse to sell it, there is no difference to them whether government or private individuals purchase it at a market price. This method of paying off the debt is in fact no more than every year withdrawing a certain portion of it out of circulation, by which means it is totally annihilated ; for as when bought in by government the interest ceases, and no principal ever existed, nothing remains, and therefore it becomes absolutely nothing.

This fictitious wealth in the political, is exactly similar to blood in the animal body ; so long as they continue to circulate they give life and health, beauty, strength, and spirit ; but as soon as the circulation stops, the one ceases to be wealth, and the other blood. All these millions in funds and loans, in principal and interest, in Bank, South Sea, and India Stock, in Bank Notes, Exchequer Bills, in Long and Short Annuities, and Lottery Tickets, so long as they are kept alive and in motion, are as good to all intents and purposes

purposes as gold and silver; they bestow palaces, parks, and gardens, plate and jewels, servants and equipages; they procure titles and honours, seats in the House of Commons, and peerages in the House of Lords, and majorities in both. Whilst they last, all these benefits, powers, and privileges they confer on their possessors, in whose hands they are a certain and substantial income; in the hands of a minister, like the broad pieces tossed about by a juggler, they are here and there, in your pockets, in mine, or in his own, and then by a single manœuvre, are no where at all, but vanish like the baseless fabric of a vision. This is called paying off, and so it is, for a debt annihilated is paid. I am not very apprehensive that the progress of this scheme will be too rapid, considering the numerous interruptions it will probably meet with, or that it will discharge too great a part of our debt; but if it should ever go so far as even to pay off one hundred millions, I will venture to foretell, that the diminution of our riches will be
secretly

secretly felt ; and that if it was possible to wipe away the whole, we should soon return back to our former state of poverty and barbarism ; we should get rid of our debt and our taxes, our luxury and profusion, and have little to pay and less to receive. We have heard every year for a century past, with much satisfaction, that we were ruined, but still find ourselves happily disappointed, and may continue to be so much longer if our ministers shall have wisdom to plan and power to execute. Without the assistance of alchymy, they have discovered the philosopher's stone, which can convert ink and paper into gold, and are able to create or annihilate riches at their pleasure ; they have therefore nothing more to do than to keep them in that salutary mediocrity, which excludes luxury on the one hand and poverty on the other.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.



